

WHERE WE DIFFER?

The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha

REFERENCE



BY
INDRA PRAKASHA,

General Secretary, Servants of the Hindus' Society ; Ex-Honorary Secretary,
All India Hindu Mahasabha ; Editor, The Hindu Outlook ;
Author of the History of the Hindu Mahasabha, etc.

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Publishers:

THE HINDU MISSION PUSTAK BHANDAR,
NEW DELHI.

First Published December, 1942.

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PRINTED BY T. N. THOLAL
AT THE FEDERAL TRADE PRESS,
NEW DELHI.

Dedicated to:

Revered Shri Bhai Parmanandaji,

WHO IS ONE OF

THE FOUNDERS

OF THE

HINDU NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

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Preface

IN April 1911, I had to attend the District Hindu Conference held at Bahraich (U. P.) My friend Kunwar Hari Ram Seth, the then General Secretary of the U.P. Provincial Hindu Sabha, and myself went to Nanpara, a village some ten miles from Bahraich, and addressed a public meeting of the Hindus. After Kunwar Hari Ram Seth I spoke on 'our fundamental differences with the Congress'. On our way back to Bahraich Lala Hari Ram Seth asked me if any book relating to the differences between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha was available. I replied in the negative, but felt that this deficiency must be made up; a book explaining the differences between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha was required not only for the public in general, but for the Hindu Sabha workers as well.

I do not pretend to have presented in the following pages anything new that is anything which has so far not been said by our Hindu Mahasabha leaders, particularly by Shri Bhai Parmananda, and Sri Veer V. D. Savarkar. I venture, however, to suggest that the

differences have not yet been set down in the form and in a manner followed in this book. My object is to elucidate our fundamental differences with the Indian National Congress.

I am sure the book will interest the Hindu Sangathanists ; it may perhaps surprise a shock to those who know nothing or very little of the Hindu Mahasabha, and have heard a lot of the Indian National Congress. After the first surprise and the shock have subsided and on a little reflection, however, they would try to appreciate the spirit in which this book has been written.

I shall be sorry, if criticism made by me, gives offence to anyone, as no personal reflection on any person working in any sphere of the Indian public life was intended.

Lastly, I must express my gratitude to my friend, Prof. R. K. Mukerjee, of the Hindu College, Delhi for editing the MSS., Mr. G. V. Ketkar, Editor, Marhatta, Poona for going through them, and giving me his valuable advice. I must also thank Mr. I. K. Varma for correcting the proofs.

NEW DELHI,
26th December, 1942.

AUTHOR

I

DO WE DIFFER?

*"The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars
But in ourselves, that we are underlings"*

The political life of the Hindu Society in India in modern times is a tale of divided allegiance. The Hindus find themselves surrounded by numerous societies and Associations, each of which demands their loyalty by seeking to play upon their cheap and maudlin sentiments. Uncritical as the mass mind usually is, it is easily influenced by propaganda. Indeed, few men escape the grip of the atmosphere around them. It catches one before one can calmly analyse the ideas which fly about. The Congress philosophy is the prevailing dominant force in the mental horizon of India, at least so far as the Hindus are concerned. The great popularity of the Congress with the Hindus is consequent upon the fact that it came upon the stage much earlier than the Hindu Mahasabha. With the passage of time, the Hindus have become so accustomed to it, that they do not pause to reflect on the metamorphosis it has undergone.

Their mind has been so much subconsciously permeated by that spirit, that they have almost lost their independent thinking and critical judgement. In blind adherence to sacrosanct names and empty slogans, they do not visualise the cataclysm towards which they have been heading.

Apart, however, from the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, there has been another organisation, namely, the Muslim League, which is evidently a body to protect and safeguard the interests and political life of the Musalmans of this country.

“The aim of the Muslim politicians in India is twofold. Firstly, to maintain the integrity of the Muslims as a separate community, and secondly, to secure their economic “welfare”.*

The Muslim attitude towards the Congress is an important point for study. Sir Sayyed Ahmed, an eminent reformer of the Muslim community, although a strong believer in “the Catholic nationality of India” subsequently changed his opinion through British official influence and maintained that the change proposed

* “Confederacy of India”.

by the Congress would be diametrically opposed to the interests of the Muslims. Yet the Congress has never ceased to boast of its influence over and affiliations to the Muslim community. It has always yielded to their demands, often at the sacrifice of Hindu rights and liberties.

The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha both are essentially Hindu organisations, but whereas the Congress has had a life of over fifty years to its credit, the Hindu Mahasabha can claim its existence only for the last twenty years. The Hindus still follow the Congress because they still fail to understand what the Hindu Mahasabha connotes. The general impression that prevails owing to the wide propaganda of the Indian National Congress is that the Hindu Mahasabha is a communal institution full of reactionaries, and it is the height of unpatriotism and insanity to join that institution. The Indian National Congress passed a resolution banning its members to join any communal organisation by enrolling themselves even as ordinary members. By this it had only the Hindu Mahasabha in its mind. With all their vociferous claims and organised propaganda Congressmen have not been successful in mak-

ing any impression upon the Muslims. They have tried with the Muslim League all the methods of conciliation, persuasion and even capitulation, but with little effect. The Muslim Leaguers have been taken by the Congress in their Coalition Ministries. The Congress has been hunting after a Muslim to join them, in the face of the Congress Resolution which banned its Members to join any communal organisation. "It is a strange world my master, it is a strange world". The Congress says in one breath that it cannot negotiate with any communal body, but in the other it goes out of its way to placate the Muslim League by immolating the Hindu rights and privileges. The Hindus have felt that the Congress which is mainly and predominantly a Hindu organisation goes out of its way to humour the Muslims by bartering away the legitimate rights of the Hindus. The Hindus in numerical strength are overwhelmingly and preponderantly large. The Muslims are nine millions strong. They lost their sovereignty and freedom much later than the Hindus had done. They should have fought more strenuously, more patriotically and more systematically than the Hindus. But they have not done that. While the Hindus have

made immense sacrifice at the altar of passionate love for their country, the Muslims have acted as quislings and gone on clamouring for the half share of the prerogatives and rights to be gained by the establishment of Swaraj. The Muslims have retarded the National Movement by incessantly dubbing the Congress to be aiming at the Hindu Raj. They have played themselves into the hands of the British Raj and have invariably supported the British Government in its reactionary policy. Yet the Congress seeks to please, to placate and humour the Muslim League! The Congress declares that it is non-communal, but when it immolates Hindu rights for winning over the reluctant Muslims is it not guilty of communalism? This attitude of the Congress has made it incumbent upon the Hindus to start a separate organisation. This will account for the emergence of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Where is the Hindu Mahasabha to blame? It tries to protect the Hindu lives, the honour of the Hindu women, and the civic and religious liberties of the Hindus against the onslaught and aggression launched by the Muslims. Its aim is to eradicate the evils of the Hindu

Society and transform that Society into a homogenous whole—a Society, vital, forceful and able to exert its influence upon humanity at large. It thus upholds the true ideals of nationalism in all its aspects.

Then why does not the Congress tolerate the existence of the Hindu Mahasabha? Why should such a psuedo-great Institution which claims the following of 90 percent of the Hindus of the Hindustan, stoop so low as to penalise those who show the proclivity or bias of joining the Hindu Mahasabha? The reason is not far to see. They know that it is from the same following viz. the Hindus that both these Institutions are to be nourished. They are afraid lest the Hindus should realise their mistake and choose to follow the right course. Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel once said :—

“The Congress has been built up by our labour and sacrifices and we will not allow anybody, howsoever eminent, to undermine, the institution”.

This attitude of the Congress is clear to us. They take it for granted that if the Hindus are to follow the Hindu Mahasabha, the strength and solidarity of the Indian National Congress would be undermined.

The Hindus must understand the difference between these two organisations—The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. They must study the varied problems that have of late cropped up and see if the differences can be made up, or they must realise that the ideals and principles of the two bodies, are so poles asunder that their cannot be any common meeting point between the two. There are perhaps not many who agree with the Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, when he says :—

“The only difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha is that the latter is crude in its utterance and brutal in its actions while the Congress is politic and polite. But apart from this difference of fact there is no other difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha”.*

The propaganda of the Indian National Congress is indeed very great and insidious. It has a past to its credit. No doubt it has a record of a large number of patriots on its rolls, who played indeed a great and significant part in the fight for freedom during the last 50 years; but has not the Hindu Mahasabha also in its own sphere men like Bhai Parmanand and

*Thoughts on Pakistan.

V.D. Savarkar whose sacrifices are second to that of none. When the Congress approaches the ignorant masses with high but empty slogans and catch-words and tells them that the Hindu Mahasabha is not to be backed up, the majority of the Hindus take it as a command from heaven and spurn the Hindu Mahasabha without caring to think where their real vital interest lies.

During the last ten years under the leadership of Shri Bhai Parmananda and Veer V.D. Savarkar, the Hindu Mahasabha has at least succeeded in making an approach to the masses. The Hindu Mahasabha under their guidance has had a new lease of life. The masses have, at last, realised that in the Hindu Mahasabha there is yet a body worthy of their allegiance. The call rightly made by the leaders of the Mahasabha, has, to some extent, also confused the masses. They cannot possibly understand as to why the loyalty to the Indian National Congress be given up, when it has the same goal of independence, as the Hindu Mahasabha claims to have. Both these organisations tell the people that they can save them from foreign yoke, poverty, hunger and starvation and make them a great nation. The result is that confusion has become

worse confounded. Very few understand the truth of the Hindu Mahasabha ideals. Everybody follows the Indian National Congress, in the false belief that the Hindu Mahasabha is after all a communal body not worthy of his allegiance and adherence.

The main object of writing the pages that follow is simply to throw some light on the ideological differences between the two organisations, viz., the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha ; to make people discriminate things and evaluate them in a judicious manner, so that they may be able to choose the better of the two. All through, the aim has been persuasion and not dogmatic assertion and dictation.

II

THE CONGRESS & THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

... Indian Renaissance has been "much more than the agitation of political *coterie*s. It is the revival of an histroical tradition, the liberation of the soul of a people" -- Macdonald.

... Before we try to analyse the difference between the two ideologies at present represented by the Indian National Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, it is essential to trace as well as describe their origin and evolution.

The first impetus to the Indian nationalism came from Edmund Burke's "Impeachment of Warren Hastings", Macaulay's attack on British Rule in India, and Bright's downright speeches in Parliament :—

"Thirty millions of human beings" wrote Macaulay, "were reduced to an extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. That Government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation."

Public life, as we see it to-day, may be said to have been non-existent before the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The foundation of the modern public life was first laid in Bengal by the Great Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He founded the Brahmo Samaj, the object of which was to found a universal religion in the world. Sir Valentine Chirol writing about Raja Ram Mohan Roy said:—

“The great Hindu Raja Ram Mohan Roy, as far back as 1780, had ventured to launch a vigorous attack on “the idolatrous system of Hinduism”, and was profoundly imbued”, with the spirit of Christianity though there is no definite evidence that he ever embraced its doctrines.”

It was just like making a bouquet of different flowers from a garden. For political emancipation the efforts of the followers of the Brahmo Samaj guided by the British Officials resulted in the establishment of the Indian National Congress, but still:—

“No Indian”, said Mr. Gokahle in London in 1913, “could have started the Indian National Congress. Apart from the fact that anyone putting his hand to such a gigantic task had need to have Mr. Hume’s commanding personality, even if an Indian had

possessed such a personality and had come forward to start such a movement embracing all India, the officials would not have allowed it to come into existence. If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman, and distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days, that the authorities would have at once found some way or other of suppressing the movement.”*

The indirect results of Lord Rippon's Viceroyalty was the foundation of the Indian National Congress, after a year of his departure in 1885. In the words of the late W. C. Bonnerjee, a famous Calcutta barrister, whom Mr. Hume had taken into his confidence, Lord Dufferin said that there was no body of persons in this country which performed the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England. “If we accept Professor Sundaraman's statement as accurate, it would appear that the idea of the Congress party originated with Lord Dufferin.”

The first session of the Congress was held in Bombay on December 28, in Gokul Das Rajpal Sanskrit High School. It was a small body of about 70 picked men who elected them-

* The Rise and growth of the Congress by C. F. Andrews and Girija Mukerji.

selves as delegates. The President was Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. The official report ends thus:—

“Mr. Hume, after acknowledging the honour done him said that as the giving of cheers had been entrusted to him, he must be allowed to propose, on the principle of the better late than never giving of cheers, and that not only three but three times three, and if possible thrice that, for one, the latchet of whose shoes he was unworthy to unloosen, one to whom they were all dear, to whom they were all as children need he say, Her most Gracious Majesty The Queen Empress”.

“The rest of the speakers,” *the report adds*, “were lost in the storm of applause that instantly burst out, and the asked-for cheers were given over and over.

It was in this way that the first Congress ended its session. Thus the All India movement came into existence. Mr. Hume became its General Secretary and did at his own expense everything to popularise the gospel of the Congress from one corner to the other of India. Mr. Hume, in a letter addressed to Sir Auck-land Colvin in 1888, explained thus his object of founding the Congress:—

“A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces generated by the British inaction was urgently needed and no more efficacious valve than the Congress can be devised.”

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Even upto the first two decades of the nineteenth century the organisation retained its semi-official character. Lord Dufferin himself invited all the Delegates of the Second Congress Session held in Calcutta as distinguished visitors to his own garden party. The Governor of Madras followed suit when the third Session of the Congress took place at Madras. The existence of the Congress during the last 25 years has been nothing but a tale of official expression of the sentiments and emotions of the Indians imbued with national aspirations. The Congress as it stood then and the ideas and feelings by which the Indians were swayed were dominated and sponsored by the official elements. The domination of the Congress by the official red-tapism did not conduce much to independence of thought and to the expression of unfiltered opinions. In 1914, Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, himself attended the Congress. In 1916, the Lt. Governor Sir James Meston addressed the Congress. This is the plain unvarnished tale of the unfolding and development of the Congress down to 1916.

The few Indian patriots and statesmen who took upon themselves the task of guiding

the political destinies of India at that time had very little knowledge and experience of the antecedents and inclinations of the different races inhabiting the country like the old-world philosophers of Greece. Their knowledge of India's past was indefinite, vague and limited. They failed to take note of the currents cross-currents which taxed the ocean of India's past. The circumstances leading to the foundation of this institution established five facts :--

- (1) That founders of the Congress were either English officials or those who ruled our land with the principle of Lord Elgin, "India was conquered by sword and by the sword it shall be held", or as Jix also boldly admitted, "We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should hold."
- (2) That the Hindus who happened to be among its founders belonged to the Brahmo Samaj, the only object of which was to establish a new Indian religion, acceptable to all conflicting elements.

- (3) That all those who joined it were thoroughly westernised and Christian-minded.
- (4) That the founders consciously or unconsciously were quite ignorant of the history of the Hindustan, the part that the Muslim invaders played for about 1,000 years in this country, and the historical vicissitudes in the political life of the country for centuries together. They knew not as Veer Savarkar puts it :—

“Then centuries after the Mohammadans invaded India and carried everything with them. Their kingdoms and Empires seemed to reign supreme. But we rallied again and ever since the day that Shivajee was born the God of War sided with us. Battle after battle we beat the Muslims in a hundred fields; their Kingdoms and Empires, their Nawabs and the Shahs and the Badshahas, were brought to their knees by our warriors till at last Bhausaheb, the Commander-in Chief of the Hindus as if symbolically raised his hammer and literally smashed the very Imperial throne of the Moghals at Delhi to pieces; Mahadajee Scindia held the imbecile Moghal Emperors as prisoners and pensioners in his custody and the Hindu supremacy was once more re-established all over the land.

"In the meantime before we could recover from the struggle of centuries with the Muslim, the English faced us and won on all points." *

The founders of the Congress could not take this view of the Indian Struggle for Independence which had been carried on for centuries together.

(5) That from the very beginning very few Muslims joined the Congress. Mr. Tyabji, a great Advocate, was the first Muslim who indentified himself with the institution and Mr. Sayani was the Second Muslim. As President of Congress, he, in the course of his Presidential Address from the Congress platform, made a statement on the position of the Muslims in India. Even earlier, in 1888, Sir Syed Ahmed gave a definite lead to the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress and founded what he called the Anglo-Muslim Defence Association, and still earlier *i. e.* in 1885, he founded the Patriotic Association as a counter-blast to the Congress and

*Hindu Sanghatan-By Veer Savarker.

followed it up by founding in 1893, the Upper India Mohammadan Association. Sjt. C. F. Andrews and Sjt. Girija Mukerjee writing on the position of the Muslim Community with regard to the Congress say :—

"It has hitherto tended to make the National Congress only partially in touch with the Muslim Community as a whole. The Muslim League has represented a parallel political body of ever growing importance, which has never been amalgamated with the Congress.*

The principal objects of the Congress within the first twenty years of its life were to carry on an agitation for the introduction of legislatures and of getting some reforms from the British bureaucracy.

It was only the partitioning of Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon that awakened a storm of Hindu resentment. For the Muslims were in favour as they were in a majority in the newly created province of East Bengal and Assam. These Hindu extremists

*The rise and growth of the Congress.

entered the Congress which was then the only organisation considered to be patriotic and national. Inside the Congress, the first echoes of its new life were heard at the Benares session. The opposition to resolutions of welcome to their Royal Highnesses in the Subjects Committee marked the advent of a new era. Lokmanya Tilak and L. Lajpat Rai led the opposition. The Congress plodded on in her career of stagnation with a clamour for reform right up to the Lahore Session of the Congress. During this period the most important work done by the Indian National Congress was to lead a deputation and present an address of welcome to Mr Montague; the Muslim League also joined the Congress at this time. At this stage we may make mention that the Hindu Sabha was started in the Punjab by the Late L. Lalchand. The Congress treated the Hindu Sabha Movement, in 1916, with scant courtesy by refusing to give its representatives a hearing, when discussions were in progress between the Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League which resulted in the so-called Lucknow Pact. For the first time the Hindu leaders felt the pro-Muslim policy of the Congress.

While the Congress was still in its chrysalis stage, or in its infancy a few other national movements saw the light. During this period—1910 to 1916—Mrs. Besant started an All Indian Home-Rule League and commenced arousing the country from its lethargy and torpor by her splendid orations. It was considered that the Indian National Congress was a semi-official body and could not possibly represent the true sentiments of the people of India. There was another group of eminent persons working for the India's liberation. They wanted 'Ram Rajya' as was once explained by the Late Lala Hardyal, one of the pioneers of this truly National Movement. Those who inaugurated the Movement were the Late Shyam Krishan Verma, the Late L. Hardyal, the Savarkar Brothers, Bhai Parmananda, Rash Behari Bose, Ajit Singh and various others. They used to laugh at the Congress then, and still they laugh at it. Almost all of them joined the Hindu Mahasabha after undergoing a trail of sufferings and sacrifices for years together.

Mr. Gandhi returned to India in 1915, and became the follower of Mr. Gokhale. He had accepted Mr. Gokhale as his political Guru.

Sometime afterwards he was elected President of the All-India Home-Rule League. In a meeting once it was suggested that no movement was possible to achieve success without having boycott as one of its main programme. Mr. Gandhi remarked, "*If you adopt boycott as part of your programme, I will have to resign. I cannot then continue with you any longer.*" *But things changed. The passing of the Rowlatt Act and the bunglings made by the Government brought Mr. Gandhi to the forefront. Passive resistance, he now felt, was the only honourable answer to the unwanted Act..

"With a faith in passive resistance, almost pathetic and incurable", writes the Late Sir C. Y. Chintamani, "brought over from South Africa, Mr. Gandhi had rehearsed the practice of this art on a smaller scale in connection with local grievances in Bardoli in Gujrat and Champaran in Bihar, The success he achieved there led him to think of the same method on other occasions and on a scale less suited to it....He was told by one that in Satyagraha the part of Satya would be only his part, the Graha would be practised by others to whom he preached. He brushed aside all objections, with a sweep of his hand and embarked upon his campaign. The sequel was far worse than those who had warned him had

* I follow the Mahatma By K. M. Munshi.

feared. Riots broke out in Lahore, Amritsar and other places in the Punjab, at Ahmedabad in Gujrat and elsewhere, in which there was much wanton destruction of life and property and orgies of hooliganism were enacted which would have been a disgrace to any civilized community. Mr. Gandhi was painfully impressed by what had happened, and with a courage all his own he made a public confession that he had made a "Himalayan blunder"*

In December 1919, the next Session of the Congress was held at Amritsar under the conflicting shadows of the Montford Reforms and the Jallianwala Bagh and the frenzy of the Indians during Amritsar riots. There were many who simply revolted at the latter part of the resolution that a murder of few Eurepeans was to be taken on level with the cold blooded massacre of hundreds of innocent children, men and women by General Dyre. The majority of members thought that it was Mrs. Besant's work as she was after all British. "No one born of Indian parentage could have drafted this resolution", was declared by one of the Congress leaders. Lokmanya Tilak, Messrs. Bipin Chandra Pal, and C. R. Dass opposed the latter part of the resolution and it was lost by an over-

* Indian Politics since the Mutiny.

whelming majority. The next morning it came to light that it was Gandhiji who drafted the latter part of the resolution. Mr. Gandhi ultimately succeeded in getting the resolution along with the latter part passed. In 1919, Mr. Gandhi's sympathies were with the British Imperialism and during the last war, Gandhiji was busy collecting recruits for the Army. No one knows how he could have been consistent with his policy of Ahimsa when in 1915 he advised the Indians to shoot the Germans in the interest of the British Imperialism. Though Mr. Gandhi was very much in favour of co-operating with the British upto 1919, he changed his mind latter; presumably by the pressure brought to bear upon him by the Ali Brothers for the cause of the Khilaphat. He preached non-co-operation and found a strong opponent in Lokmanya Tilak. Luck favoured Mr. Gandhi; Lokmanya died on August 1, 1920, and left no one to take his place. A special Session of the Congress was organised to be held at Calcutta in September, 1920, under the Presidentship of the Late L. Lajpat Rai. Mr. Gandhi succeeded in getting his resolution of non-violent non-co-operation passed. Henceforth non-co-operation became the official policy of

the Congress. Mr. Gandhi rallied to his side all the extremist forces, changed the creed of the Congress from Dominion Home Rule to Swaraj. Thus the old Leaders of the Congress having lost the majority, left the Congress. The parting of the ways was complete. Mr. Gandhi started his non-co-operation movement in 1921, when a large number of the Khilafatists joined the Congress. They were against Britain, not for their love of India, but for the position of the Khilafat. It was a movement of Pan-Islamism which stirred every Muslim in India. They were asking, "With Arabia independent with foreign powers governing Mesopotamia, Syria and Armenia, in the guise of the Mandatories with Palestine restored to the Jews, with the Greeks securely lodged in Symarna and the Hinterland what, may we ask, is the position of the Khilafat?"

The Congress has now become an anti-British organisation. According to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "It stood for full democracy in India and for Swaraj" which latter on in 1930, came to mean complete independence or severance of all relationship with the British government. Then came the second non-co-

operation movement in 1931. Thousands of Hindu, men and women courted jail in vain. This time the movement resulted in an Anglo-Muslim alliance.

Shri Bhai Parmanand in his book "The Hindu National Movement" wrote in 1929:—

"I might be putting before you only the dark side of the picture but I have no hesitation in saying in plain words that all efforts of the Congress school of political thought have ended in dismal failure and that the present does not hold any better promise for the future. What I regard is not this; that we have not succeeded in reaching our goal, but that the goal is even to-day as farther from us as ever."*

The aim and objects of the Indian National Congress now are the attainment of Purna Swaraj (complete independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means (Congress constitution as amended in 1934).

So much about the Congress. Now let us trace the growth of the Hindu Sabha Movement.

"The Muslims, during the eighties of the last century", writes Clifford Manshardt "were as a group educationally backward, and it was the feeling of such

* Hindu National movement.

leaders as Sir Syed Ahmed that the principal energies of the Muslim Leaders should be spent in the educational uplift of their own community rather than in participation in political movement dominated by the Hindus.

“The Muslims on their part, had memories of a Moghal India, when the Muslim held the upper hand and which represented to them a golden age just as significant as the Vedic Golden Age of the Hindus. Hence, it was that the Muslims turned towards the British, not because they loved them more, but because they had less distrust of the British Raj, than of Brahman Rule.

“Indian Muslims were not unaffected by the wave of unrest which seemed to be sweeping over the East, but this unrest found its expression more in Pan-Islamic Movement rather than the in Indian Nationalist Movement.” *

In replying to the Mohammadan deputation, Lord Morley, as the Secretary of State for India said:—

“I know very well that any injustice, any suspicion that we are capable of being unjust to Mohammadans in India would certainly provoke a severe and injurious reaction in Constantinople”.

* The Hindu-Muslim problem in India.

This was the crux of the whole situation. This attitude of the British Government and the Anti-Hindu and Pro-Muslims Policy of the Congress & the awakening amongst the Muslims towards the Pan-Islamism gave rise to the Hindu Mahasabha.

As early as 1895 a Society in Poona was founded under the patronage of the Great Lokmanya Tilak for physical and military training of the Hindu youngmen. This was called the "Society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu Religion." The Deccan, which had in the days of the Mughal Imperialism produced a national hero in the person of Shivaji the Great, now supplied the first Leader of the extremist by way of a Hindu reaction. This was no other than Bal Ganga-dhar Tilak who was a man of remarkable intelligence and culture, and a man of versatile genius and high moral character. He was the first to realise the whole Brahmanical position as, the sure foundation of the Indian Nation-hood capable of overthrowing the political and the spiritual domination of the West. He inaugurated the celebration of the Ganpati festival in 1895. He bitterly opposed Lord

Lansdowne's 'Age of Consent Bill of 1890', aimed at raising the age of consummation of the Hindu marriage from ten to twelve. This antagonism may smack of orthodoxy and conservatism to us the moderns so much saturated in reformation spirit. But this indicates in Lokmanya a stubborn spirit of opposition against reform to be super-imposed by an alien Government. This emphasises the Hindu feelings which governed the man's life-current.

In 1905, after the partition of Bengal, virtually a new era began. The Swadeshi movement was started. It was carried on entirely by the Hindus. Sir Banmylde Fuller, the Lt-Governor of Bengal openly announced a policy of preference for the Muslims and a prejudice against the Hindus. In 1906 this policy was carried to such length that at one place some Muslims proclaimed by beat of drum that Government have premitted them to loot the chattels and belongings of the Hindus. At Dacca the foundation of the Muslim League was laid under the patronage of the Nawab of Dacca. This was followed by the kidnapping of the Hindu Girls. It is said, "That the Government have permitted the Mohammadans to marry the Hindu widows in the Nikah form."

This gave impetus to the movement for the establishment of Anushilan Samatis for the purpose of self-defence amongs the Hindu Youths in Bengal. All the changes showed the growth of the Hindu consciousness and the inward awakening of the Hindu mind. It was in these days that the late L. Lal Chand of the Punjab wrote his famous articles on self-abnegation in politics. He criticised the Congress theory of the united nation comprising the Hindus and the Muslims and concluded that the Congress attempt at the Hindus Muslim unity had been leading the Hindus to self-effacement. In Januarry, 1907, the Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded.

The aims and objects of the Punjab Hindu Sabha were, “The Sabha is not a sectarian nor, a denominational but an all embracing movement and while meaning no offence to any other movement, whether Hindu, or Non-Hindu, it aims to be ardent and watchful in safeguarding the interests of the entire Hindu community in all aspects.”

During the incubation period of the Minto-Morley Reforms, the Punjab Hindu Sabha addressed a long memorial to His Excellency Lord Minto detailing therein the grievances of the

Hindus. The first Hindu Conference was held in Lahore in 1909. The Hindu Sabha founded in the Punjab, continued its work for several years inculcating the spirit of the Hindu consciousness among the Hindu Masses. They organised a number of conferences; at Amritsar in 1911, at Delhi in 1912, at Ambala in 1913, at Ferozepur in 1914, and so on. In 1917 the deputation of the Hindu Sabha waited upon Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India.

The Punjab now took upon itself to establish the All India Hindu Mahasabha. At the Ambala Session of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference held on 7th and 8th December 1913, the following significant resolution was passed :—

“It is highly desirable that a general conference of the Hindus of India be held at Hardwar on the occasion of Kumbha Mela in 1915.”

A committee of prominent Hindu leaders consisting of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Syt. Sharada Charan Mitter, Babu Motial Ghosh, Babu Surender Nath Banerjee, L. Shadi Lal, Mahatma Munshi Ram, Syt. Sacchidananda, Sinha L. Lajpat Rai, Pt. Rambhaj Dutt, Lala Hans Raj and Hon. Sukhbir Singh was appointed to make the arrangements.

Thus in those cloudy days of the last Great War the All India Hindu Mahasabha movement took its birth. The formal Reception Committee of the First All India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was organised at Dehra Dun in 1914. The first Session was held on 9th & 10th April, 1915, under the Presidentship of Sir Mohendra Nandi, the Maharaja of Kashimbazar.

The Hindu Mahasabha of course did not then assume the political role but one thing was common since the inception of this movement in the Punjab as well as at Hardwar to this day and that was "Hindu Anghatan". The Maharaja of Kashimbazar in the course of his Presidential address said:—

"If, therefore, we make efforts to set our house in order or hold closer together the scattered units of our faith, it cannot imply a menace to any other community or faith."

The removal of the caste system, the uplift of the Depressed Classes was then more important programme chalked out in the first Session. On account of the last Great War, the activities of the Hindu Sanha slackened. In the year 1918, the country came under the influence of a new political movement as the result of which not

only the Hindu Sabha movement but also the old school of the Congress dwindled into insignificance.

The growth of the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements, the pro-Muslim and Anti-Hindu policy of the Congress, the non-attainment of Swaraj within 12 months, the occurrence of Hindu-Muslim riots in India, particularly in Malabar and the Congress attitude towards it including also the organised movement of Tabligh (conversion) by the Mohammadans, and various other atrocities rekindled the Hindu Mahasabha spirit. The Conferences which used to be held in the past had not much attracted the attention of the Hindus till the situation in the country itself opened their eyes and they felt that it is "Hindu Sanghatan" alone which could save them from the fated annihilation. At Benares in 1923, the Hindu Mahasabha was formally reorganised under the Presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. By this time, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Shri Bhai Parmanand, and Pandit Din Dyal Sharma joined the movement. The Kohat tragedy again brought L. Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddha Nand in the Hindu Sabha fold. Mr. Gandhi's open confession of betraying the Hindus gave a further

stimulus to the Hindu Sabha Movement. During his fast in 1924, immediately after the Kohat tragedy, Mr. Gandhi, replying to the question as to why he was penancing, said :—

“My error? How I am to be charged with having committed a breach of faith with the Hindus. I asked them to lay their lives and property at the disposal of the Mussalmans for the protection of their holy places. Even to-day I am asking them to practice Ahimsa to settle the quarrels by dying but not killing, and what do I find to be the result? How many temples have been desecrated? How many sisters came to me with complaint?..... I had a letter from..... How can I bear the way in which his little children were molested?*”

The Hindu Mahasabha Movement now took a new turn. From 1923, onward regular sessions began to be held every year. The murder of Swami Shardhananda by Abdul Rashid gave a further impetus to the movement. There was yet one trouble. Leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the late L. Lajpat Rai, Sjt. N. C. Kelkar, were hovering between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress. They failed to realise that the two

*Quoted by ‘A Hindu Nationalist’ in Gandhi-Muslim Conspiracy.

philosophies were entirely opposed to each other. Dr. Moonje tried to keep the candle of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement burning for some years, but even he did not show sufficient courage to stand against the Congress or Mr. Gandhi. Before the election of Bhai Parmananda as President, the Hindu Mahasabha though not exactly a corollary of the Indian National Congress at least felt shy of assuming the role of an independent All-India organisation with a bold and clear-cut policy. The Hindu National Movement, as such, was started by Bhai Parmananda who, so to say, gave the body, and the soul was instilled into it by the inspiring lead of our present President Veer Savarkar. According to him its mission is as abiding as the life of the Nation itself. He says :—

“The Hindu Nation too as soon as it recovered and freed itself from the suffocating grip of the pseudo-nationalistic ideology of the Congress brand developed a new organ to battle in the struggle for existence under the changed conditions of modern age. This was the Hindu Mahasabha. It grew up of a fundamental necessity of the natural life and not of any ephemeral incident. The constructive side of its aims

and objects make it amply clear that its mission is as abiding as the life of the Nation itself.”*

The aim of the Hindu Mahasabha has been the protection and the strengthening of the Hindu Rashtra and the promotion of Hindu civilization, culture and ideals. It stood for the revival of the Hindu glory.

The Indian National Congress was evidently a movement for the attainment of freedom or Self Government for the country and taking it as such the Congress ought to be above all parties. Such indeed was the position which the Congress once occupied in the imagination of the people although its leaders even now assert that it still continues to occupy the same position. Unfortunately the practice has always differed from what is professed. Going down on the knees with folded hands and a shivering body before the Muslim demands, however anti-national and reactionary they may be, has been the usual custom with the Congress leaders. To accept the communal demands and to ask the British to accept them has been the general policy of the Congress Leaders. Will not one be justified in calling

*Hindu Sanghatan by V. D. Savarkar

a Congress a communal organisation—perhaps worse than an immorally communal one.

We have been told that the August 42, resolution of the All India Congress Committee upholds once again the principle of broad nationalism saying that after the British leave India, there can be any talk about communal settlement. It may be, but God knows more about Mr. Gandhi than any body else. Perhaps it was Mr. Gandhi, who revolutionised the whole system of political agitation in the country by not only making it a mass movement but also by giving it a fighting programme. Before him the Congress was a party of the constitutional agitators aspiring for selfgovernment in the country through peaceful and legitimate means. Swami Shardhananda once remarked, "The Hindu Muslim unity may be the result but not the cause of Swaraj". And therefore inspite of the activities of the Congress the course of action did undergo a change, and the consolidation of the Hindu Community was considered necessary even for India's constitutional advancement.

The Late Sjt. C.Y. Chintamani in his book "Indian Politics since the Mutiny", writes :—

“The question is whether consistently with our larger national allegiance and our efforts to attain Swaraj, it is or is not the duty of the Hindus, in the situation as it has developed in recent years and is to-day and threatens to be at least for some time yet, to bestow a thought on the requirements of their community. Let it be remembered that Muslim communal organisations are in full vigour and strength. The continued existence of separate communal electorates is a far more important fact. The tone and direction given to activities inside legislative councils on communal issues by the presence in them of members owning separate allegiance to their different communities, he who runs may read. The nature of the coming constitution may justly lead people to apprehend that in the near future communal unity is not likely to reign supreme in the country. I consider myself to be about as good a nationalist as any in the country. But I cannot forget and do not want to forget that I am a Hindu and that it is my duty as a public man to exert myself in defence of the interest of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation. I am quite sure my co-religionists in general feel as I do.”

This justification of the Hindu Sabha Movement comes from an impartial and outspoken Leader of balanced views who played undoubtedly a great part in the re-generation of our Motherland. Another public Leader

of an outstanding merit who has long been associated with the Indian National Congress thus gives the justification of the Hindu Mahasabha movement.

"It (Hindu Mahasabha) has always been the watch-dog of Hindu interests—as against the Hindu-Muslim synthesis which the Congress represents...But there is another and more important aspect for which the Hindu Mahasabha stands and will stand in the future. It represents an unapologetic expression of the Hindus' right to exist as Hindu."

In "the Confederacy of India" the "Punjabi" Muslim writes ;—

"The real representatives of the Hindu so far as their relations with the Muslims are concerned, is the Hindu Mahasabha."

Now let us study the differences between the two.

III
HINDUSTHAN

सुजलां सुफलां मलयज शीतलां ।
शस्य श्यामलाम् मातरम् बन्दे ॥

Mother, I bow to thee !
Rich with thy burrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving, Mother of Might,
Mother Free.

—*Sri Arobindo.*

The first and the most essential difference between the two ideologies, viz. the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, which we are to understand, concerns the very conception of this land of Bharatvarsha, India or the Hindusthan.

What do we mean by India ? By India we mean the land which is the land of our kith and kin. It is India we worship. India is to us what America is to the Americans and the Andamans to the natives of that land. We know that our Mother-land is consecrated by

the sacred river Bhagirathi and it is associated with the names of Shankracharya, Bashista and other great saints. It is, therefore, the association-cultural, religious, racial, historical and linguistic, which has made this land the dearest to us.

For us the Hindusthan and India are synonymous terms. The word "Hindu" or "Indian", have the same meaning both having originated from the same root. India was regarded as the land of *Sapta Sindhu* (Seven Rivers). This gave the name Sindhu to the people inhabiting this land. The old Persians changed into *Hapta Hindu* in the Zind Avastha. The Greeks dropped 'H' altogether and gave us the name *Indu*. *Indu* is the word used for this country by the Great Roman Poet Virgil and it is from *Ind* that we have 'India' and 'Indian'. The Great Chinese Traveller Heien-Th-Tsang lavishes his encomiums upon the inhabitants of this land of ours. According to him we were called 'Indu', "The moon" because it was in this country that the Great Moon of Light and Wisdom dispelling darkness from this earth and illuminating faith rose. The Hindusthan is the accepted appellation of our Motherland.

Even so we must have it indelibly impressed on the map of the earth for all times to come that Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus.

According to the Congress School of thought, the Hindusthan is not the land of the Hindus, but the land of the Indians, who according to them comprise the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis, all and sundry. The Congress conception of this ancient land of ours, which we the Hindus have been inhabiting since the dawn of civilisation, has made it a sort of *Dharamshala* or Caravan Serai. Let us take, for instance, an ordinary man in the street. He works from morning till evening and earns with the sweat of his brow a few pennies. The only desire he carries throughout his life is that he should be able to collect some money to build a cottage for his abode, where he may be able to live as its master. That is the only end and aim of his life. This is common sentiment prevalent in every class, in every country and with everybody. Let alone the human beings, the same is true of birds. They set out every day in the morning to collect straw in order to make a small nest for themselves. Such is the law of

nature. Once Maulana Shaukat Ali said, "If India dies, Islam lives." Behind this very utterance is hidden the full faith in the fact that the Muslim world exists beyond the borders of the Hindusthan. But for the Hindus of the Hindusthan, if India dies, the Hinduism dies and the Hindus die too. Every minority community living in this country has its respective holy land and fatherland beyond the shores of India. But is there any other country on the surface of the Globe which the Hindus can claim as their holy-land and Mother-land? It must be accepted that this is the country of the Hindus as such, and if the other minorities are to live here, they are to live here as in various different countries different minorities have been living. It is this land of ours which is the Mother of the world civilization.

The Muslims have their own belief regarding the Hindusthan. The author of the "Pakistan" Punjabi" writes :—

"India is a subcontinent. In order to clearly understand our point of view of the position of India, it is necessary to understand that some parts of the sub-continent are dominated by the Muslim Millat while a large portion of it is under the *Hindu Jati*.

Sir Mohammad Yakub explains the Muslim popular sentiment, when he says :—

“The Muslims of India do not consider India as their Mother-land, nor have they any sentiment for it; that their allegiance to India is the same as allegiance to Iran, Turkey or Arabia.”

The Simon Commission Report points out an interesting fact providing that the Muslim still regard India to be a country under their domination and sway as if they are the veritable lineal descendants of the Mughal Conquerors of India. To quote Simon Commission :—

“The splendid monuments of the Mughal architecture stand as a perpetual reminder of the vanished domination of the Mohammedian Rule.....and the community does not forget that it represented the previous conquerors of the country.”

Prof: Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.L.C., observes :—

“India has fallen on evil days, and on evil tongues. She is called upon to defend her very individuality and integrity as a country, and as a political organism. It is curious to note that she is surrounded by a number of neighbouring countries and religions which can freely call themselves

Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Turkestan, Turkmanistan, Arabistan, Luristan, Khuzistan, Kohistan, Kurdestan, Kafristan, Seistan (Sakasthana), Shahfistan, Faristan, Artistan, Usbegistan, Tadzhikistan, Baltistan, Waziristan. But in the midst of this company, India alone cannot call herself Hindusthan. Yet it was left to the ancient Achaemenian Emperor of Persia, as far back as the sixth century B.C., to first apply to India the designation of Hindustan. A country is always called by the name of the majority of its population all over the world. The world has never seen a State which is a purely homogeneous entity in regard to its special composition. It is impossible to construct a State exclusively out of one community. Racial or religious frontiers can never coincide with political frontiers. A State is bound to have different communities in its population. The mere existence of different communities does not militate against its unity as a State.”*

The Ex-Premier of England, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald in his introduction to a book of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji of the University of Lucknow writes,

“India and Hinduism are organically related like body and soul”.

India is the land of the Hindus in the same sense as Afghanistan is of the Afghans or

* Modern Review.

Turkey of the Turks, and England of the English. It is a pity that the Hindus and even some of their best men have lost their sense of proportion in perceiving the proper space which rightfully belongs to them in their own native country. This grievously distorted and short-sighted vision adopted, nurtured and propagated by the Indian National Congress, has been mainly responsible for the consequences which today threaten even the political existence and future of the Hindus as a people. The Hindus must recapture for themselves the fundamental, historical and political truth that India must be considered theoretically and legally as a Hindu State. Mrs. Besant in her famous work "the Hindu Ideals" writes,

"Christians invaded India and established their Rule. Muslims preached there and for more than 400 years ruled over the destinies of Hindustan, so much so that they became a part of India's population. But India remains Hindu. When I say India, I mean a land of the Hindus".

Dr. Krutkoty Shankaracharya writes,

"The Hindusthan is primarily for the Hindus and that the Hindus live for preservation and development of the Aryan culture and

the Hindu Dharma which are bound to prove beneficial to humanity.”*

The Congress, when it accepts India a ‘no man’s land or a Caravan Serai forgets the whole past of this country—the history of India for thousands of years. It also forgets that every inch of this sacred land was besmeared with the blood of our Heroes, Martyrs, and Kshatriyas, who laid down their very lives for its integrity, defence and sanctity. If we accept that India is a country of the Indians comprising the Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsis, etc., this country at once becomes ‘no man’s’ land’. Mr. Gandhi wrote in his book “Hind Swaraj”,

“If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by the Hindus, they are living in a dreamland. The Hindus, the Mohammadans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow countrymen.”

The Muslims take it as a battle-field, the Dar-ul-Harab, the place of the Kafirs. Their country is *not India* but *Arabia*. !! No big mosque in India can be a place of worship, however superbly or magnificently it might have been built by the Great Mughals—but their

sacred place is the *Holy Kaba* ! The Christians would undoubtedly take Palestine as their sacred land. If India be not accepted as the holy-land or motherland by the muslims, the Christians and the Parsis and if according to the Congress it does not belong to the Hindus alone, then whose motherland or holy-land can she or does she claim to be ? Isn't it then a no-man's land ?

There is a School of Thought which argues that India was never a country of the Hindus. The cry of our land being a sub-continent and not a united country has been forcefully brought forward by the Muslim politicians of the day. Some of the English Historians too accept this view. According to that the Hindus are not the sole masters of this country and that various communities such as the Hindus, the Muslims and others, came and settled here, some earlier and some later before the Christian era. It is a pity that they hold this view ! The Hindusthan has always been a country of the Hindus. You visit any corner of India ; everywhere Sita is worshipped as an ideal of our womanhood. The Lord Rama is always to be hailed as our first great Emperor.

Ram Rajya has been and shall always be an ideal regime for the Governments and the Monarchs to come.

Recall to your memory the great night of the Dipawali. Inspite of numerous difference in caste, creed, customs, language, dress and diet every Hindu who imbibes even a drop of Hindu blood in his veins, down from the only independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal to the very Gomal in the thickness of jungles of the Hindusthan will illuminate his palace or cottage to celebrate the return of the Lord Ram to Ajudhya after 14 years' banishment, and would also worship in this sacred night the Great Goddess Lakshmi. Does not then this land extending from the Himalayas to the seas appear as one united country glowing in and illuminated with candles and lights everywhere? Similarly the worship of the Goddess Shakti from the biggest city to the humblest village in our vast country on the day of Vijay-dasami when the Lord Ram triumphed over Ravana, the spirit of darkness or unrighteousness, establishes the fact that the Hindusthan is indivisible and inviolable. Hardwar हरिद्वार by the side of the Himalayas and Kanya Kumari कन्याकुमारी

on the seas in the south only confirm this fact by conveying a message to us. Hardwar हरिद्वार and Kanya Kumari कन्याकुमारी remind us of the Lord Shiva and Parvati. Parvati saying:—

कोटि जन्म ते रगर हमारी ।
वरहुँ शम्भु नतु रहहुँ कुमारी ॥ तुलसीदास

“Ever since my inception or nativity I have been resolved either on marrying Lord Shiva or continuing in celibacy.”

Parvati determined to marry Lord Shiva, sat in yogic concentration by the side of seas at Kanya Kumari, while Lord Shiva sat absorbed in concentration beyond Hardwar at Kailash in the Himalayas. Shiva is still believed to be in the Himalayas and Parvati at Kanya Kumari by the side of the Rameshwaram, still praying, still worshipping at the feet of Lord Shiva. Visit an old Hindu taking bath early in the morning before sunrise in a village free from any western or Congress influence and far away from town or city! You will still hear him sing:—

गंगेच यमुने चैव सरस्वती गोदावरी ।
नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरी जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधि कुरु ॥

“Oh! ye Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu and Kaveri, commingle

Ye thy holy waters and impart thy accumulated purity to my holy bath."

Can there be any further proof of the fact that Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus?

In a legend from Devi Bhagwati, it is said that in ancient times King Daksha performed a huge Yajna. All the gods and the Rishis were invited to participate except Shiva, who was further insulted by the King in having termed as a "Kapali". Though Sati was his daughter, she was also not invited, on account of her being a Kapali's wife. While the Rishis and the gods were going to the Yajna it chanced that Sati was enjoying herself in sight-seeing at Gandha-Madan mountain. She saw the moon going with Rohini. Calling her friend she said "Vijaya, please ask Rohini where is she going". On hearing about the Yajna the Sati mused within herself, "The King is my father; why did he not invite me?" To know the true state of affairs, she went to Shiva and spoke reverentially, "Lord, I have heard that a huge Yajna is to be held at my father's place. All the Rishis and the gods are going thither, why shouldst not thou too?" The Shiva answered, "Your father harbours enmity towards me.

Only those gods, whom he reveres, have gone to his Yajna. To go uninvited is not honourable; hence it is not proper for me to go."

The Sati replied, "True, my father's Yajna would have been successful, had you been there, but he has not invited you. Lord, I wish to go there in order to know why he has left you uninvited."

Shiva gave his assent on Sati's insistence and Sati accordingly left for the home of her father.

The king saw her, but did not pay any attention to her. Feeling insulted, Sati spoke thus, "Father, My husband is the god without whose presence no *Yajna* is complete. I fail to understand why thou, my father, hast wilfully ignored my husband, thy son-in law, and left him uninvited! It pains me to think that my husband who is the Lord of all *Yajnas* has been purposely insulted and ignored."

The King was enraged and said, "Girl, why hast thou come here, and on what errands? The world knows that your husband Shiva is "Anabgkujs!"—He the master of Ghosts: of

what use will he be in this congregation of the Rishis and the Saints?" The father went on accumulating abusive and acrimonious terms upon the daughter's husband.

Sati could no longer bear the insults heaped upon her husband. She had better die and the Sati flung herself in Samadhi or holy communion and soon her life was apparently extinct!

When Shiva heard about the death of his consort, he hastened to the place and taking Sati's corpse into his arms, through deep emotion indulged in antics and the whole creation was threatened with a cataclysm. The Lord Vishnu saw that the whole creation was threatened with total annihilation because of the antics the Lord of the Ghosts had been indulging in with the corpse of Sati on his shoulders. The Lord Vishnu, thereupon, to save the whole creation, took up his Discus and quickly cut off the different limbs of Sati and flung them in widely distant regions of this Bharatvarsha of ours. In this feat of Vishnu's, wherever, any lock of Sati's hair or her limb fell, there sprang up a veritable abode of the worshippers of Shakti; where her Yoni (female generative organ) fell, there was founded Kamakshya in

Kamrup; where her fingers fell there sprang up Kali in Calcutta, where her hands fell there sprang up Annapurna in Varanasi, where her tongue fell there arose Jawalamukhi in Kangra, where her brain fell, there arose Hinguladevi in Hingulaj; and, similarly, there arose Vindhya Devi in Vindhyaachal, Nilambari in Nilgiri; Jambudehwari in Srinagar, Gokhali in Nepal, Mahalakshmi in Kilahpur, Meenakshi in Madura, Mangla in Gaya; Sthanupriya in Kurukhshetra and Ugra in Kankhal. Whether Shiva is God or is the name of some individual or some aspect of the Divine trinity or Hinduism, is a thing with which we are not concerned here. Its moral is evident. Shiva, having distributed over 52 limbs of this Sati-like Shakti has confirmed Hindu solidarity. From Kamakshya to Hingulraj and from Kangra to Madura—the whole of India is one uniform, inviolate and unvivisected land for the Hindus.

The map reproduced below is from "Brahma Darshana", an old manuscript printed about 40 years ago, long before any controversy about India's unity started or the fateful word 'Pakistan' was even conceived. It represents

Puranic conception of India's Unity. Sage Dattatreya describes Bharat Varsha seen in the map) as God Siva—Kashmir—head, Amarnath—third eye, Himalayas—matted hair, the Punjab and Sind—right arm, U. P. and Bengal—left arm, Vindyachals—waist, Deccan coasts—legs. Rameshwarama-feet.



The photo is obtained through the kindness of Sri J. S. Vishwakesri.

Our religion had its origin in this land. Here, from Brahma Rishi to Dayanand, from the Buddha to Nagsen, from Jain to Mahavir, from Chaitanya to Nanka, and from Ram Dass to Vivekananda,—all our Gurus have been born and have flourished. Our woods and haunts, hills and mountains, rivers and valleys immortalize their heroically divine deeds. In its fragrance blossomed the buds of Sanskrit. When the sun of civilization dawned upon human creation, its first rays glowed over this land's firmament. When the breeze of culture glided along, it first passed through the woods of this land! When man opened his lips and uttered meaningful words, those first human voices, echoed like Samgan from the mouth of the Rishis of this land. We do not know our antiquity, but the snow-clad layers of the Himalayas can syllable it. We do not know our history, but we can hear it in the murmur of our sacred Ganges. The Hindus and the Himalayas are equally ancient. We do not know when we came, but when we opened our eyes, we saw the Crown of this sacred land tied on our heads by some Divine Power. To rivers, mountains, lakes jungles, and resorts of this

land, we gave names. There is none older than ourselves. We tasted our first morsel of bread in the natal atmosphere of this country, quenched our thirst from its waters, and drew our first breath from its air. We call this country as "mother" and she wrapped us up in her mantle of love. For this reason, the Hindus, upto now, call this country 'his mother,' and for the similar reason, paints the portrait of mother in the country's map.

Leaving mythological history, the facts even of the period of recent history tell the same tale. The mighty Empire of Vikramaditya Yashovardhan, Chandra Gupta Maurya, Asoka, Harsha and such other great Samarat and Chakravartis prove that this land is the land of the Hindus alone. The invasion of the Greeks, the Sakas, the Huns and other foreign races, which threatened our country, came and passed away and were met with such powerful resistance that their very names have been relegated to oblivion's uncatalogued library.

Let us cast a cursory glance over the country which the Congress justifies itself in calling 'India' of the Indians, and not the

Hindusthan-the land of the Hindus. The survey of the map of India would take us first to the Punjab, Sindh, Kashmir and the Frontier Province, the portion generally called as Northern India. What does this portion of our sacred land owe to Hinduism ?

The Northern India is the very cradle of our race and incumabulus of our civilization. On the banks of its seven rivers were chanted the hymns of the Riga Veda, the earliest book of our race and of humanity. The Nadi-stuti of the Riga Veda shows how in that age (not later than 3000 B. C.) the Punjabis were singing the Vedic hymns to the resounding waters of Ganga, Jamuna, Saraswati, Sutudri, Parishni, Marut-vridha, Sikni, Vitasta, Arjikiya and Susome, and ever farther on of Kumbha (Kabul), and Krumu (Kurram), Gomti (Gomel) and Suvastu (Swat).

The city of Lahore according to our ancient literature was founded by Lava, the sun of Bhagwan Ram, and the other town now known as Kasur was founded by the other son, Kusha. This is a reminiscence of prehistoric ages.

Leaving those stirring times of our earliest history with its wider horizon extending from the head waters of the Kabul river, beyond our present frontiers, up to the Ganga in the East, we find the Punjab holding its primacy in India's cultural life through the ages. Many were its centres of learning in the age of the Brahmans and the Upanishadas, even when this learning was slowly migrating to the Eastern India. The Upanishadas are familiar with the Gandhara. They tell of the learned king Asvapati Kaikayi whose kingdom lay between the Sindhu and the Vitas (Jhelum). We are to know how the Buddhist India had an important centre of culture at Taxila. It was a regular University town in those days. It was a centre of higher learning, a sort of post-graduate University for the study of the arts and science of the times, the three Vedas and the eighteen Silpas (Silpas or crafts) including Law, Military and Medical Schools.

Let us come to the present history. The resistance that was offered to the Muslim invaders for over 150 years by Jaipal and Anangapal and the kings of their dynasty unfolds a brilliant chapter in our annals. When

their resistance was overcome, the whole of the Hindusthan was conquered in no time. The part played by our Sikh Gurus in throwing off the yoke of the Moghal Rule and in saving our culture, religion and cow is perhaps unparalleled in any history. Guru Tegh Bahadur the 9th Guru, along with Bhai Mati Dass, the fore-father of our Revered Bhai Parmanand, had to offer their heads at the Moghal Court of Delhi in order to save the Hindus from conversion. Bhai Mati Dass was sawed in two. The victory of vengeance achieved by Vir Viragi Banda Bahadur resulted in the foundation of the Sikh theocracy. Vir Viragi's martyrdom will always be kept written in letters of gold. Will ever the martyrdom of Guru's children vanish from our memories? Can any one claim that this part of the Hindusthan which is now being ruled by the Mussalmans and is being sought to be converted into Pakistan is not the crown of Mother India?

Next comes the provinces, now called, the United Provinces and Bihar. Perhaps these are the holy of the holiest of the Provinces where are situate our great and ancient Tirthas

which even in these fallen days of our race are a source of inspiration. A Hindu likes not to breathe his last unless a few drops of water of the Ganges, the sacred of our most sacred rivers be poured into his mouth. In Padam Puran the verse.

गंगागंगे तियोब्रूयात् योजनानां शतैरपि ।
मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति ॥

“He who standing at a distance of thousand miles utters only the name of the “Ganges” is absolved from all sins, and verily in the end goes to Heaven.”

The great reformer Sankaracharyya also subscribes to this holy and partiotic sentiment !

तव जलममलं येन निपीतं
परमपदं खलु तेन गृहीतं ।
मातर्गंगे त्वयि यो भक्तः
किल तं द्रष्ट्रं न यमः शक्तः ॥

“He who drinks thy hallowed water attains to Salvation and he who is thy adorer can never be touched by Death.”

It is these very provinces where still stand erect thousands of our Temples at Kashi, Muttra, Brindaban, Gaya, Mithila, Puri,

Prayag and Hardwar, the highest peaks of which still remind us of our past glory, of battles fought at their feet for their very protection and for the struggle for the existence of our very culture and Dharma. It is these Provinces, where the Muslim Rulers desecrated our holy temples and built mosques over them. The construction of mosques over our temples at Brindaban, Muttra, Kashi have been the living proof of the Muslim bigotry and stand as monuments of shame to the Hindu nation at large. Will a day dawn, when the Hindus will undo the wrongs committed against their very faith? Can ever the meadows on the banks of the Jamuna in Muttra, Bridaban and Gokal be effaced from the Hindu heart? The melodious tune of Lord Krishna's pipe still echoes there. Old women when they go to Brindaban, bring with them the dust from those meadows as if the Lord only passed through a day before grazing Gokal's cattle, touched that dust with his sacred feet.

The birth of our great Rama who rules over the crores of the Hindu hearts is also in Ajudhya situated in these Provinces. Prayag

is regarded as the King of Tirthas and Puri is one of the four Dhams of Hindu religion. Badri Nath Dham is also situated in the North of United Provinces amidst the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas. The great Lord Buddha was born and died in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces and Jainism saw its growth in the Province of Bihar. Kabirdas, a great saint, flourished in the United Provinces.

The Central India is another glorious part of our Hindusthan. Maharaj Chhatarsal, the great unconquerable hero, fought 180 battles with the Moghals and won all of them. Even to-day His Highness The Maharaja of Panna, his noble descendant still rules over the Capital which was founded by the great hero. Maharaja Chhatarsal still rules over every Rajput Bundela heart whose ancestors fought and fell for one principle.

हिन्दु-धर्म जग जाय चलाओ ।

दूर दिल्ली दल हलनि हलाओ ॥

“Go out into the wide world and inaugurate the great Hindu *Dharma* everywhere (in the world). Delhi may be a far cry but go ‘thou’ must there and exterminate those (Moghal) armies.”

It is in this Central India, where the great Maharani of Jhansi fought the last battle of Independence of Hindusthan in 1857 against the foreign rule and fell. It is in this Central India, where Mahadeoiji Scindia established his great Gwalior Raj who kept the last Moghal Emperor as his prisoner and pensioner and used to decide the very diet which the great Moghal Emperor was to take daily.

Then comes Rajasthan, the very particle of the sand of which is still red with the blood of the great Rajputs who never bowed before the aggression of a foreign monarch. The Fort of Chittor still reminds us of thousands of Rajput women who burnt themselves alive to avoid the touch of a Mlech to their sacred bodies. The very earth of the Fort of Chittor is so sacredly mixed with the ashes of our mothers and sisters!! The woeful tale of Padmani is still fresh and still the Bhats (Bards) of Rajasthan sing the valours of the Bapa Rawal, Rana Sanga, Partap and Raj Singh. The battlefield of Haldi Ghati still resounds with the glories of Mahara-na Pratap. Will any Hindu heart disown this part of the country ?

Next comes Maharashtra with Poona as its centre. Poona was the home of Shri Shivaji Maharaja in the days of his adolescence and apprenticeship. It was here that he conceived the idea of the Hindu Swarajya and planned for winning it back for the Hindusthan. It was here that statesmen like the Peshwas, Nana Pharanvis and Mahadaji Scindia made a bid for the re-establishment of the Hindu Raj. The sacred town of Nasik still reminds us of the exile of Bhagwan Rama and the days he spent at Panchwati. It is this Maharashtra, where the Mahrattas riding on horse back and living upon rice and 'Satu' shattered the great Moghal Empire, and for a time gave hope for the re-establishment of the great Hindu Empire. It is this Province of Maharashtra which produced generals like Bhau Saheb, the Commander-in-Chief of the Hindus, who "as if symbolically raised the hammer and literally smashed to pieces the very imperial throne of the Moghals at Delhi."

Bengal has got a great fascination for the Hindus as it is the land of Chaitanya, Pratapaditya, Rama Krishna Parmahansa, Swami

Vivekananda, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Bipin Chandra Pal and others. During the last 20 or 30 years a great many illustrious sons of Bengal have sacrificed their lives for India's Independence. Every mile-stone in Bengal has been consecrated with the life-blood of these great souls. Bengal gave us lead in Science, Education and in the nationalist movement that we see today. It is Bengal that produced one of the greatest Hindus of modern times-Shri Swami Vivekananda, the first Apostle of Hindu Sanghatan. The message of Hinduism and Hindutva was spread by him beyond the seas, where people still remember the great gospel, the message of peace, the religion of rationalism and tolerance.

The Province of Kathiawar and Gujerat remind us of great Swami Dayananda, who founded the Arya Samaj movement in India. The part that Arya Samaj played in the uplift of the untouchables, the spread of knowledge and in preaching the oneness of Almighty is memorable. The holy temple in Kathiawar 'Jagannath' is still called as Chhota Kashi.

Provinces beyond Vindhachal commonly called South India remind us of our great

Vijayanagar Empire. The historical city of Madura has always been one of the great centres of the Hindu culture and civilization. It was once the seat of Sovereignty of the Pandiyan Kings and was later the seat of many renowned Hindu Kingdoms. It has been well called the Athens of India. The Goddess Meenakshi, Rameshwaram and thousands of other temples endear this part of India to us.

Such is our Mother-land, our holy-land, Hindusthan, the land of the Hindus.

The first and fundamental difference between the philosophy of the Indian National Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha concerns our Mother-land. We cannot take this country jointly owned by those who either came running away from their countries and sought protection here or those descendants of ex-Hindus, who for the greed of power and money or out of fear renounced their glorious faith and became converts, or those who are the descendants of those barbarous invaders who spoiled our very sacred land, demolished our sacred temples and forcibly kidnapped thousands and lacs of our Mothers and Sisters. Of course, the country cannot belong to them and if they are to live

here, they must live here, taking it for granted that the Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus and of no one else. Usurpers and Brigands can not be the Masters and Masters cannot be doubtful owners. Let the Congress realise this great fact.

The love for our Mother-land is a sentiment to be cherished to-day in every Hindu heart as it was cherished by our Heroes who fought and fell for its honour. Even Bhagwan Rama, the Hero of our Heroes, who has been raised to the position of being an incarnation of God, and who virtually and literally rules almost every Hindu heart, says, addressing Lakshmana :—

अपिस्वरामियो लंका न मे लक्ष्मण रोचते ।

जननी जन्म भूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसि ॥

“Oh Lakshmana ! This golden land of Lanka with all its riches does not appeal to me. To me my mother and my Mother-land are superior to Heaven itself.”

The Hindusthan was greater and nobler than Heaven itself to Bhagwan Rama. The idea of ruling over the newly conquered country Lanka did not attract him. Alas ! the descendants of Bhagwan Rama are not sure whether

this country of the Hindusthan is theirs or of all those who came, invaded and established themselves on account of their (of the descendants) later degeneration or weakness.

Manu, the greatest Law-Giver of the world, invites all the peoples of the world to come to Hindusthan to learn their studies at the holy feet of the “Elders-born”, Brahmans, of this land :—

एतदेशं प्रसूतस्य सकाशां दग्धं जम्मनाः ।
स्वं-स्वं चरित्रं शद्वोरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वं मानवः ॥

“From the Brahmans, who took their birth in this land of Bharatvarsha, the entire peoples of the world have been taking lessons in their conduct of life.”

Shrimati Savitri Devi in her book “A warning to the Hindus” writes :—

“The Hindus, however, few they may be, will keep on saying to the non-Hindus, by the fact of the very presence ; “We represent India, not you. Therefore, India is ours, not yours.” And they will be right, India is theirs, because they alone are India.

“As for those Hindus who have re-invented Indian Nationalism during these last decades, who have built up the Indian National Congress, who have suffered for India and

put India, above everything, they too often seem to forget that India, apart from Hindudom, is no India at all."

Sir Herbert Risley writes in "The Problem of India" :—

"Besides the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned a certain under-lying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. There is in fact an Indian character, a general Indian personality, which we cannot resolve into its common elements."

The Hindus must identify India and Hindudom. They must look upon this country as the embodiment of sanctity. I am reproducing the poetical works of one of our various Hindu writers only to show that the term "Hindusthan" was used to signify the land of the Hindus only, and the Hindu Heroes wanted to establish a Hindu Empire throughout with simply one ideal of saving Hindudom. The idea that the Hindusthan is not the land of the Hindus becomes nothing but a hypocrisy, after going through the following:—

Of all the works written in the Hindi language, old and new, the great epic Prithviraj

by Chand Bardai, is, admittedly the most ancient and authoritative one.

The Poet Ban Father of Chand Bardai address the Raja of Ajmer, the father of Prithviraj :—

अटल ठाठ महिपाल, अटल तारागढ़ थाने ।
 अटल नग्र अजमेर, अटल हिन्दव अस्थाने ॥
 अटल तेज परताप, अटल लंकागढ़ डंडिय ।
 अटल आप चहुआन, अटल भूमि जस मंडिय ॥
 संभरी भूप सोमेस नूप, अटल छत्र ओपै सुभर ।
 कविराज बेन असीमदे, अटल जगाम रजे सकर ॥

“This is the blessing of Kaviraj Ban : Be the glory of your throne remain immortal. Steadfast be the Taragarh Fort, Ajmer City and the Hindusthan. Like the immortality of brave Pratap, the glory of Lanka Fort, the majesty of Chauhan Dynasty, may your light illumine the entire world. May also the rulers of Sambhar and Somesh flourish eternally under your benign Rule.”

Chand Bardai uses the words हिन्दू-हिन्दुवान-हिन्द so often and so naturally as to confirm that Hindusthan was accepted as the land of the Hindus as far back as the eleventh century, when the Mohammadans had not secured any permanent footing even in the Punjab.

Govind Rao Kale in the course of his letter to Nana Farnavis from the capital of the Nizam observes :—

“पत्र पाहतांच रोमांच उभे राहिले अति संतोष भाला ।
विस्तार पत्री किती लिहूं ? यंथचे यंथचे मनांत आले ॥
अटक नदीचे अलिंकडे दक्षिण समुद्र पावेतो हिंदुचे स्थान—
तुरकस्थान नव्हे हे आपली सिमापांडवापासून विक्रमाजित
तपावेतो, त्यांनी राखून उप भोभ घेतला त्यां मागे राज्यर्क्ते नादान
निघाले । यवनांचे प्राचल्य झाले ॥”

“When I read your letter, I was simply thrilled with joy. Indeed I felt mightily happy. I cannot express all that fully in a letter. Literally my mind was flooded with thoughts. All the territory from the river Atak to the Indian Ocean is the land of Hindus and not of the Turks. These have been our frontiers from the times of Pandavas down to those of Vikarmaditya. They preserved it and enjoyed it. After them the Rulers turned out to be quite effectless and the Yavans (Mohammadans) rose in power.”*

This land is therefore, the land of the Hindus, and we fundamentally differ with the Congress in the assumption that it is the common land of the Hindus, the Muslims and others. We came out of this sacred soil and

* (Quoted in Hindutva by Veer V. D. Savarkar).

shall, in due time, return to it. The country is greater than all of us, representing as it does, the great community of all the generations, past, present and future,—dead, living and unborn, and made sacred with the memory and the mortal remains, the dust and ashes of those who dreamed, aspired and laboured for the building up of our higher life and our civilization and culture in their sacred Mother-land "Hindusthan". Let me quote the words:—

"This homestead is ours and we love it for what it is, what it was, what it shall become someday."

IV

INDEPENDENCE.

For freedom's battle once begun
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son
Though baffl'd oft is ever won.

Independence has been literally defined as "exemption from reliance on others or control by them or freedom in action or opinion". When applied to a country, it means freedom for the people living therein to mould their life according to their desires or aspirations unhampered in all walks of life by any control emanating from any source outside its borders. Liberty means, according to a great thinker, freedom to do even wrong and then to rectify it. England is an independent country. Its Parliament is supposed to possess all powers. It is said "Parliament can do everything except making a man a woman and woman a man." This is, to a great extent, true inspite of the many constitutional limitations imposed on the rights of the Parliament. The constitutional limitations or restrictions should however be left to scholastic or academic discussions.

According to the Indian National Congress. "Swaraj" or Independence means in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All-India National Convention of 1937,

"National freedom in the fullest sense of the word ; it means, as our pledge has stated, a severance of British connections. It means anti-imperialism, and no compromise with the British Empire."

The attitude of the Congress on the question of Independence has a history of its own. The Presidential addresses during the first half a-dozen sessions of the Indian National Congress swore by its abiding faith in the *bonafides* of the British people, its loyalty to the British throne and prayed for the permanence of the British sovereignty and suzerainty over India. It claimed to strengthen the ties that bound India to the British Empire. Its goal was only a sort of self-government for India within the British Empire with perhaps this change that British bureaucracy was to liquidate. To talk of independence, in its true sense was then considered mere moonshine. The Congress, as declared by Mr. Gokhale, its President in 1905, after 20 years of its existence, aimed,

"That in course of time, a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire".

Even so late as the year 1916, the Congress Session at Lucknow sang the British National anthem and flew the Union Jack, the British Flag, as a token of its faith in the benignant and beneficial almost Messianic mission of Great Britain in India.

The word "Swaraj" was first used perhaps by Dada Bhai Naroji at the Congress Session of 1906, when, he definitely held, that

"Self Government and Sawraj like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies is the ideal of the Congress."

But till then it did not imply the severance of British connection. As a matter of fact he meant by Swaraj, Home Rule or Dominion Status under the sovereignty of British Imperialism.

Swaraj as power and undiluted independence free from British connection, was, perhaps, first conceived by Lokmanya Tilak, when he said, "Swaraj is our birth-right." But the first

resolution in an open Congress to make independence the official goal of the Congress was presented.....by the late lamented patriot from Madras Mr. Ranga Swami Iyenger. But the resolution could not be carried owing to stubborn opposition.

When Mr. Gandhi came in power, the creed of the Indian National Congress was altered. This was also far from independence as upto 1926, Mr. Gandhi could not entertain the idea of independence for this country. And, at, the Calcutta Session of the Congress, he said that the talk of independence was nothing but childish. He of course adopted in the constitution "Swaraj" under the British control in 1920, perhaps on account of the encouragement given to him by King Amanullah of Afghanistan, yet he purposely left "Swaraj" undefined. Sardar Iqbal Ali Shah, in his book 'Tragedy of Amanullah' while describing his visit to Bombay wrote,

"And in Bombay whilst still the guest of the British Administration, Amanullah made a diplomatic blunder. A public function was organized in his honour in that city; all the dignitaries were present, including the British Governor, when he urged upon the

Indians the necessity of severing their connection with England."

How Mr. Gandhi wanted or was trapped in to get the Muslim Raj which he took as Swarajya is a different story. So long as he was not sure of the support of the Afghans, Mr. Gandhi was not prepared to lose the British suzerainty and he was very much opposed to the creed of complete independence. Mr. Gandhi stated in those days,

"But assuming that Great Britain alters her attitude, as I know she will when India is strong, it will be religiously unlawful for us to insist on independence. For it will be vindictive and petulant. It would amount to a denial of God for the refusal will then be based upon the assumption that the British people are not capable of response to the God in man; such a position is untenable for both a believing Mussalman and a believing Hindu."*

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal wrote on April 4, 1925, in "Comrade", edited by the Late Maulana Mohammad Ali.

"The Congress started in 1920 with a new creed and constitution framed by Mr. Gandhi. In this constitution Swaraj was declared to be the goal of our national endeavours. But the Mahatma would not

*Quoted in Gandhi-Muslim conspiracy by a "Hindu Nationalist".

define 'Swaraj'. He would not allow anyone else to do so. Mr. Mohammad Ali gave me the reason for it. In the course of a conversation I had with him on the subject at Mr. Byomkesh Chakravorty's place in the hey-day of Non-co-operation campaign, I then learned that Swaraj was left without definition, because the moment we tried to do so, the unity in the Congress would break up. At Nagpur, I moved an amendment to Mr. Gandhi's draft, adding this adjective democratic to the word "Swaraj" and rendering it into English as full responsible Government. That amendment was supported by Mr. Das, but Gandhi opposed it and it was necessarily lost."

Mr. Gandhi unfortunately failed in getting the Afghans to invade India and despite the best efforts of Mr. Gandhi, in prevailing upon the Amir of Afghanistan not to make any treaty with the Government of India, the treaty was concluded between the two Governments. Mr. Gandhi's slogan of Swaraj within twelve months failed although his one condition was fulfilled ... collection of a crore of rupees from the ignorant Hindu Public. He again began to preach that the Swaraj meant nothing but Dominion Status. Down to 1928 this Dominion Status remained the goal of the Indian National Congress when in 1929 complete

independence was declared at 12 p. m. on the 31st December.

Although at the Madras session of the Congress in 1927, Pandit Jawahar Lal got the following resolution passed yet it was not what they actually felt.

“The Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete Independence.”

The Constitution was changed, yet even in 1937, Mr. Gandhi gave the following letter to Mr. Pollock for the information of the English people :—

“Your question is whether I retain the same opinion as I did at the Round Table Conference in 1931. I said then and repeat now, that so far as I am concerned, if Dominion Status were offered to India in terms of the Statute of Westminister, i. e., the right to secede at will, I would unhesitatingly accept.”*

According to the Congress School of thought, Independence or ‘Swaraj’ or any power that they should get from the British Government must come to the Indians. Whether the country is converted into a Pakistan or hundreds of water-tight compartments is no

*Times of India 1-2-37.

concern of the Congress. The Premier of the Hindusthan may be Mr. Jinnah, the Muslims may rule every where. All that is immaterial. The power must pass to the Indians. On August 9, 1942, in the course of his speech at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee, Mr. Gandhi said.

"Our object is to achieve Independence and whoever can take up the reins may do so."*

At this juncture it will be interesting to know the Muslim conception of independence. What the Muslims aimed at was not national independence but a sort of communal independence which will enable them to establish Muslim Raj in India.

"We differ with this Swaraj of the Congress. To the Congress 'independence' constitutes a national necessity and they want it for the restoration of national self-respect and all the other national, social, and economic benefits which accrue from it. The Muslim independence is religious necessity, for the achievement of the spiritual and worldly benefits which Islam promises."

Writes the 'Punjabi' in the Confederacy of India.

* Hindustan Times Delhi, 9-8-42.

The Muslims consider every body outside the pale of their creed as Kaffirs unworthy of any consideration and not deserving the spiritual and worldly benefits which appear to be the monopoly of the followers of their faith. The Muslim religion exalts and hero-worships an assassin. This religion encourages its followers to kill men of other religions. According to the tenets of Islam the killing of a *Kaffir* or a man belonging to the fold of any other religion raises the murderer or assassin in the estimation of his fellowmen or community; nay it makes him a *Shahid* and facilitates his transport to heaven. The Hindus have made tremendous sacrifices for this imaginary ideal of independence. I would rather add that they have nurtured this tree of quixotic Independence by their very blood. Their simplicity of heart considered no sacrifice too great; no suffering too severe, to further the cause of the Congress whose aim was chimerical in its very nature. During the last 50 years the Hindus have not only given away crores of rupees but have also faced untold torments and incalculable sufferings for the cause of independence which the Congress professes to obtain for the people

of this country including the traitors to the cause of country's freedom. The irony of fate is that it is only the Muslims who are to be benefitted by this newfangled independence. This Utopian and newfangled independence is nothing but a change of the masters for the Hindus whose very blood has been and is being sucked by these leaders. The political vicissitudes and developments amplify this great fact that Congress wants to achieve Independence and to sever its connections with the British Imperialism, in order to place the Hindusthan at the mercy of Afghanistan and the Muslims of India, in whose hands the honour of womanhood, the sanctity of our religion, culture, history and civilization can never be safe. History may repeat itself as is manifest in the words of Clifford Man-shardt :—

“The chief object of the early Muslim conquerors was to convert the infidels or “to send them to Hell with the sword.” Temples were destroyed and idols desecrated in a wholesale manner. The Hindus who resisted were killed. Those who accepted Islam were welcomed into the Islamic brotherhood. Those who accepted Political sovereignty only were compelled to pay the jazyah or the poll-tax.

"Conversions fell into two categories, forced and voluntary. When Mohammad Bin Qasim entered Sindh in A. D. 711, he circumcised Brahmans by force and killed those who resisted. Other Rulers adopted less obvious methods".

As late as 1789, Tippu Sultan, in Malabar writes Sir T. W. Arnold in the 'Preaching of Islam':—

"Issued general orders that every being in the District without distinction should be honoured with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honour should be burnt, that they should be traced to their lurking places and that all means of truth and falsehood, force or fraud, should be employed in effecting the universal conversion."

It will be a sad day indeed when India falls a prey to the Congress conception of Swaraj. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, 'Modern Review' writes:—

"If I were asked which I would have, freedom from foreign Domination, or security of the honour, persons and lives of our women, won by chivalrous men and heroic women capable of self-defence; I would say, both. But if I were compelled to choose only one of the two, I would choose the latter. The supposed alternatives placed before you

may seem strange to those unacquainted with the state of affairs in some parts of the country. But it has often seemed to me as if some politically minded Indians were disposed to make a choice exactly the opposite of that which I would make.”*

“Years ago” writes Shri Bhai Pramanand, in 1929,

“we, a group of friends, used to go out for a stroll along the banks of the Ravi. During these strolls we would often notice a particular tree, a magnificent ancient growth, remarkable alike for its height and its circumference, the leafy branches of which invite all passersby to its hospitable umbration. The Ravi, as is the wont of all rivers, was changing its course, and in doing so, it began to flow by the big tree. One day, we noticed that the roots of the tree were being covered by the water growing more and more everyday. At last we found the entire growth of the lower part of the trunk immersed. Even then the tree was as grand a site as ever before. Not a leaf on its myriad branches was withered though the river had washed away all the soil from which its root derived sustenance for its body. External appearance gave little indication of that. It is the water that makes life possible for all plants. Without it they

* Presidential address, Surat Session of Hindu Mahasabha

wither away.. And yet this life-giving vitalising water by washing away the soil in which the tree was rooted proved its mortal enemy. The site was full of significance for all interested in the present condition of the Hindus. Judging merely by appearances, the Hindus may still look as magnificent as the tree on the river side, but the soil in which the roots of the Hindu tree have remained embodied for ages is being washed away. Freedom is the water of life for nations. But its strong currents are just now washing the roots of the great tree of the Hindu nationality. Many of those who are making sacrifices for the sake of freedom to-day, do not care a jot or little for the Hindu culture or even for the life of the Hindus. Young men nurtured on these Utopian ideas spread by the Congress take pride in discarding the name and signs of Hinduism. If things continue like this, the tree of the Hindu nation would be found one day surrounded on all sides by water and the water of the Congressite Swaraj will not be giving nourishment to the tree, but performing the unfriendly act of washing away the soil surrounding its roots. Once that is done, notwithstanding all appearances, the tree will be dead. A little time after, its leaves will wither for want of sustenance, and eventually the whole tree will lie prostrate in the stream to be carried away like a dead body."

Mr Gandhi once said,

"We do not want freedom of India, if it is to be bought at the sacrifice of the lives of others, if it is to be bought by spilling the blood of the Rulers."*

If the blood of the Hindu girls, the Hindu *Shaukars* and the peace-loving Hindu citizens can be spilt and polluted by the Muslim goondas at the connivance of Mr. Gandhi & his Congress, how can the Hindus have a respect for the principles of Mr. Gandhi & of the co-operation of such a community as are bent on augmenting their numbers by forced proselytisation, by rape, by abduction and by brigandage. The Hindu houses are being burnt to ashes, the Hindu temples being desecrated, and the property of the Hindus is being daily looted, and yet the Congress headed by Mr. Gandhi want to make a *truce* with the Muslim League.

If Mr. Gandhi does not want freedom by sacrificing the blood of the Rulers how can we Hindus entertain this Swaraj of the Congress coming out of the pyres of the Hinduism. It looks rather puzzling how Mr. Gandhi who dislikes shedding even a single drop of enemy's

*Quoted in 'Truth about India' by Verrier Elwin.

blood for the cause of the Indian Freedom can tolerate the orgies of massacres, and incendiaryism and the reign of horror which prevail in riot-stricken areas. Thousands of Hindu boys and girls are being kidnapped every year by the Muslims, thousands of innocent Hindus have been murdered. How many times Mr. Gandhi's voice of protest arose? The advice given by Mr. Gandhi to the Hindus of Sindh cannot be left un-noticed. He says:—

"If no honourable local settlement is arrived at, and if local residents do not feel able to defend themselves and their—families and possessions violently or non-violently, I have no doubt that they should vacate the place in which they live in perpetual fear of their lives and the honour of their women folk." Mahatma adds, "There is nothing wrong, dishonourable or cowardly in self imposed exile."*

Regarding the tragic state of affairs of the Hindus of the Frontier, Gandhiji says:—

"I will advise the Hindus to leave the province if they cannot pull on."

Pandit Jawarhar Lal adds,

*Harijan January 21, 1940.

"I am not prepared to believe in the communal bickerings of the community mongers because the Pathans are honest and trustworthy....."

This is how independence is being secured for the Hindus of Sindh and Frontier Province.

At a meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi said :—

"I would not sell the vital interests of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India."

How bold and sweet are the words ! Perhaps Mr. Gandhi's whole public life has been a career of inconsistency and eccentricities. If he does not want to get freedom at the cost of the interests of few crores of untouchables, I cannot understand how he persuades himself to get freedom at the cost of 25 crores of the Hindus who have unfortunately the privilege of producing this great Mahatma. Once in 1924, Gandhi Jee presided over a Cow Protection Conference held at Belgaum and there he remarked :—

"Swaraj would be impossible of attainment; even so the term "Swaraj" would be devoid of all meaning so long as we have not found a way of saving the cow, for this is the touch-stone by which Hinduism must be tested, and proved before there can be any real Swaraj in India."*

May we ask this great benefactor of Hinduism, how many cows he has saved ? At Brindaban and Muttra the Holy of our Holiest places, cow slaughter has not been prohibited inspite of the numerous protests and persistent agitation made by the Hindu Mahasabha during the Congress regime. The followers of this great Gandhi were all powerful in the United Provinces. Mr. Pant, the Premier, even refused to see the deputation of the Hindu Mahasabha, when Bhai Parmanand decided to lead one for the purpose. Even the most fanatic of the Moghal Rulers had the good sense to prohibit the cow-slaughter at these places. The East India Company ordained that cow-slaughter should not take place at Muttra and Brindaban. The Congress Governments were in power in the seven provinces for years together. They did

* Quoted in Gandhi Muslim Conspiracy by 'A Hindu Nationalist'

nothing to save the Cow but they on the other hand took pride in joining hands with Muslims in sacrificing the cow. In this connection, I refer to the confidential circular issued by the United Provinces Government, entitled 'Muslim minority and Hindu majority' published by the Information Department of the Government of the United Provinces. Similar is the case of sacrifices of cow at Gorakhpur. Where was *Gandhian Ahimsa* at that time biburtating?

Swaraj according to us means *Swa*, (our) and *Raj* (Rule) i.e. Self-rule, Independence for the Hindus who live between the Himalayas and the Cape Comorin. We believe that Swaraj is not an end in itself, but is simply a means to an end. The end is prosperity and happiness of our great and ancient nation. The words of Swai Jai Singh, a great Hindu Ruler, in his letter addressed to Baji Rao, our great Hindu Peshwa were,

भाल्या गोष्टी यांत केवलमुलुख, राज्य प्राप्त इतकेंच नाहीं तरी वेदशास्त्ररक्षण, गोत्राद्वाणप्रतिपालन; सार्वभौमत्व हाती लागणे, कीर्तियश यांचे नगारे वाजणे इतक्या गोष्टी आहेत ।

"The achievements are not limited to the acquisition of territory and regaining of our kingdom but include the preservation of the Vedas and the Shastras, the rehabilitation of religion, the protection of cows, and Brahmins, the establishment of suzerainty and the diffusion of our fame and victory."

We measure the success of a Government primarily by the standard of public weal and welfare. Of course, the nature of Government is also another factor, but that is only of secondary importance. The Pope has well said:—

"For forms of Government let fools contest;
What is administered best is best"

The Congress stands for *Swaraj* meaning political freedom or independence of the geographical unit called India. A country or a geographical unit does not constitute in itself a nation. We love our country not because it is thousands and thousands of miles in length and breadth, not that various rivers flow in it and mountains like the Himalayas stand high in the sky; not because it was once called a "Golden Sparrow" by the world abroad. The country is dear to us, because it has been the abode or home of our race, of our people, our dearest and nearest ones; because it is this land which tells

the tale of our past glory, of our past civilization and the sacrifices made by us to protect our people. This is why we love it. The independence of India means, the independence of the Hindus first. This may sound communal again, but, on reflection it will be found to be what any one will have to accept. In Great Britain, for instance, the Protestants are in a majority; the Catholics, the Scots and the Welsh form a minority. In democracy it is majority community that rules but safeguards the interests of the minority communities or sects. Just as the rights and privileges of the Catholics, the Jews, the Scots and the Welsh are protected by the protestant majority in Great Britain, so the rights and privileges of the minorities like the Muslims, the Parsees, the Christians will be safeguarded by the Hindus when independence is won and national Government is set up. But the Muslims want weightage, they want Pakistan, they want Muslim Raj. The crucial point is this. Since the Hindusthan is our land, the Hindus ought to have full and free scope to shape the destinies of their country and the destinies of their nation. Nobody loves a land for land's sake only. There may be better deserts in Arabia and Africa than in Rajasthan

or anywhere else. The Mississippi may have been better than the Ganges. The Ganges is sacred to us not because it flows from the Himalayas to our Indian Ocean, but because it is on the banks of this Ganges that our people made history, spread civilization, culture, Dharma, and that the Ganges still bears testimony to the glorious past of our nation. The Himalayas are no doubt the greatest mountains in the world but that is not the only reason why we love the country. Perhaps people living on the other side of the Himalayas too, of course, claim the great mountain as theirs

In the days of Aurangzeb, Maharaja Raj Singh was ruling Udaipur. Aurangzeb wanted to marry Princess Roop Vati of Roop Nagar. She preferred death to accepting the position of a Queen of the hated Monarch, the enemy of the Hindu Nation and culture. Roop Vati sent a letter to Maharaja Raj Singh and invited him to save the honour of a Hindu girl. Maharaja Raj Singh after sending thousands of Rajputs under the leadership of well-known Chandawat Sardar at the Haldighati Pass to prevent the advance of Aurangzeb went to Roop Nagar and married

Rup Vati. Aurangzeb declared war against Raj Singh. The hostilities continued for years. When they found that they could not save Udaipur, it was burnt and depopulated. The beautiful town of Udaipur was left to invaders but the chastity of woman and the honour Dharma were saved. All the Rajputs seceded to the adjoining hills till ultimately they fought and won their country back. The geographical unit of Udaipur was never thought to be of great importance and emphasised by Maharaja Raj Singh. We may cite the instance of an ordinary man who builds a small home as everybody has a natural inclination to have his own abode, but the moment, when the dearest of the dear dies in that very house or a mishap takes place, he gives up that house and the love for that house is converted into hatred.

The Congress aspires after an Indian Rule. Some of the Historians have ascribed Akbar's rule as an ideal Indian Rule. Even patriots like C. F. Andrews felt that.

"The reign of Akbar was an untold blessing to India"*

* The Indian Problem.

The Congress, perhaps, takes Akbar's reign as a rule of the Indians according to their definition of Indian". Clifford Manshardt writes too :—

"Certainly Akbar was the most Indian of the Muslim Rulers upto that time and perhaps more than any of his predecessors recognized the political and national importance of the Hindu-Muslim unity."

Probably, he was greater than Mr. Gandhi. According to the same writer.

"From the very beginning he sought the loyalty of the Hindu subjects. He married Hindu wives and allowed them to worship in their own ways. He perfected Hindu Temples and refrained from religious persecutions. In fact Akbar was so tolerant of the Hindus and the Hindu practice that students have wondered how he managed to escape death at the hands of an enraged Muslim orthodoxy."

But even in this pro-Hindu policy of Akbar there was a hidden move behind. Not only did Akbar realize the value of the Rajput arms for purposes of conquest, but he saw in Hindu friendship the exploitation of the Hindu interests. By no stretch of imagination can we conceive the rule of Akbar and his descendants as *Swar*-

rajya. They might not have exploited the Indian resources in the sense that the Indian capital was not drained out of India but the Hindu money was utilised in suppressing the legitimate rights and liberties of the Hindus. They were the worst enemies of Hindudom, and meant to deal a death-blow to the Hindu nation. Akbar was the most dangerous of all the Muslim Rulers as he was the most cunning. By masquerading his motives in the garb of the Hindu-Muslim unity and apparent tolerance he laid the foundation of the palladium of the Moghal Empire and made Hindus impotent by sapping the very spring of our national resistance.

Had the Moghal Rajya been a *Swaraj*, there would have been no resistance from our great Maharana Partap, Guru Govind Singh Bir Banda Bahadur, Maharaj Chhatarsal and Shivaji and other heroes who fought, fell and ultimately succeeded in establishing the Hindu Empire. Their struggle would not have been acclaimed as a movement for the liberation of the Hindudom. Honour of women would not have been saved, the protection of the cow, so important according to Mr. Gandhi

would not have been achieved. The history of the Hindus would have been different and would never have been the history of our struggle for independence in this twentieth century. This is the difference between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress regarding the term—‘*Swaraj*’. Our conception is based on cultural foundation, while the Congress conception is based on false geographical premises.

According to Veer Savarkar,

“Swaraj to the Hindus must mean only that ‘Raj’ in which their ‘Swatva, their ‘Hindutva’ can assert itself without being overlorded by any non-Hindu people whether they be Indian territorial or extra-territorial.”*

The Hindus will prefer death but will never accept the rule of the Nizam in place of His Majesty, King George VI. If we are to remain slaves then why this change of masters? Admittedly the rule of George VI will be thousand times more benevolent than that of the Nizam in whose reign the Hindus cannot perform Havan, cannot repair their temples, cannot stop forcible conversions and where the

**Hindu Sangathan* by Veer V. D. Savarkar.

honour of our Womanhood is always at stake. The greatest difference between our Swaraj and the Congress Swaraj lies in this fundamental idea. Unfortunately at present Mr. Gandhi is Congress as Louis XIV was the state* *La Cest moi—I am the state.* Will any self-respecting Hindu agree with Mr. Gandhi's latest advice given by him on October 13, 1940? Writes Gandhi Jee in 'Harijan'.

"Whether I would face anarchy in preference to foreign orderly rule, either British or any other, I would unhesitatingly plump for anarchy, say, the Rule of Nizam supported by Chiefs become feudatory to him or supported by the border Muslim tribes. In my estimation it will be cent per cent domestic. It will be Home Rule."*

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Shastri says :—

"In the word 'Swaraj' 'Swa' is as important as 'Raj' and if we lose our Swabhava or Hindutva, a mere achievement of Raj (Freedom and Self Government) will avail us nothing.....It (Congress) has forgotten the basic fundamental fact that the Hindus form a large majority of the Indian population and that the Indian Swaraj must necessarily mean the Hindu Swaraj. The Congress stands for Democracy and it

*Harijan dated 13-10-1940.

wants a Democratic Raj in India. Well, according to Democracy, it is the majority which is to rule. Surely according to the elementary principles of Democracy, Hindus will rule. Then why shun Hindu Raj.”*

The late Lala Hardayal the equal of whom will perhaps never be found in the field of Indian patriotism, in suffering and sacrifices for the sake of—Mother Land writes as follows :—

“If there is any possibility of the Hindus and the Muslims working together, it is only possible as we see in Hindu States or as was the usage, at the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is that the State should belong to the Hindus and the Mohammadans may live there. But the State cannot be a Muslim State, nor can it be a jointly Hindu-Muslim Administered State. The reason is that every State is ultimately dependent on its customs, its national language, and its national History.

“There can be two classifications of the present States.—the Muslim States and the Hindu. The Hindus reside in the Muslim States and the Muslims also live in the Hindu ones. A joint Hindu-Muslim State is sheer nonsense, which under no circumstance can exist. We therefore, desire

*Chairman's address, Madura Session of Hindu Mahasabha.

to establish States after the fashion of Baroda or Kashmir. To create States like that of Bhawalpur and Hyderabad, we are not prepared to offer sacrifices. My point is now clear.

“To achieve this sublime ideal, Shri Guru Govind Singh—sacrificed his four sons at the altar of Dharma. Remember the highest sacrifice can be made, only if the ideal is high and most sublime.

“Let us therefore gather all Hindus under one national banner through the sacred call of Swaraj and pure India, and make them sacrifice their all, in the cause of national solidarity. In this lies the salvation of the Hindus and the future of the Hindusthan.”*

Shri Bhai Parmanand on his last visit to England in 1933, met L. Hardayal. Shri Bhaiji asked Lalaji as to what his views were regarding the then policy of the Indian National Congress.

Lala Hardayal replied :—

“that the Congress struggle for Independence is just like washing a baby of the tub. The great poet Hali has rightly put the Congress attempt towards Swaraj, thus.

*Translation from “ Mere Vichar ” (in Hindi) by L. Hardayal.

धोने की रिफारमर है जा बाकी,
 जब तलक कि है कपड़े पर धब्बा बाकी ।
 धो शौक से कपड़े को पर इतना न रगड़,
 धब्बा रहे कपड़े पे न कपड़ा बाकी ॥

“Wash the cloth till it is cleared of all spots.
 Oh : Reformer! wash it well, but do-
 not rub so hard as to destroy both the
 spots and the cloth.”*

*Quoted by Mr. Dharam Vir Editor Hindu, Lahore.

V

UNITED INDIAN NATION

“O ! who can hold a fire in his hand
 By thinking on the frosty Caucasus ?
 Or clog the hungry edge of appetite.
 By bare imagination of a feast ?

The Indian National Congress, from its very inception took it for granted that there existed one nation in India, which they termed as the “United Indian Nation.”

The word ‘India’ bore to the Congress the above connotation, but it was understood by people in no sense other than its being applicable to and connotating the country of the Hindus. “Indian” and “India” in English are undoubtedly synonymous with “Hindu” and “Hindusthan” in Hindi.

The Leaders connected with the Brahmo Samaj, Christianity, the Parsi and religion of other new sects, who founded the Indian National Congress, applied ‘Indian’ to the people of this country on the ideological presumption that there lived in this country only one nation and that nation was ‘India’. According to the Congress “Indian” means any person inhabiting this

land, and belonging to any faith i.e. Hindu Muslim, Christian, Parsi etc. On the contrary, we believe that the adoption of the term, Indian' in place of Hindu, was the direct sequel to the cult of defeatism, and cowardice which surrendered all intrinsic Hindu rights to the aggressive Muslim community. The originators of this idea were, perhaps moved by a make-believe that the Muslims would allow themselves to be called 'Indians' first and 'Muslims' afterwards. But they were wrong. Having no sufficient knowledge of the Hindu History and of the centuries of the Muslim rule in India, they over-looked one important factor that the Musalmans will never be 'Indians' first and Muslims afterwards. Is it not a matter of common knowledge that the moment the Muslim hold over Delhi was threatened, the Indian Mussalmans invited their co-religionists outside the borders of India to invade the Hindusthan and punish the Kaffirs ? Were not such invitations issued to Babar, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani ? Let us draw nearer. The struggle of the Indian National Congress lasting over 50 years has brought us to the only conclusion that the more we wanted the Muslims to call themselves 'Indians' instead of

'Hindus', the more fanatically they called themselves 'Muslims' and hated the word 'Indians'. Unfortunately the scales turned otherwise as this move on the part of the Congress resulted in creating prejudice for the word 'Hindu' in the minds of the Hindus themselves. An average educated Hindu influenced by the Congress catchwords feels shy of admitting that he is a 'Hindu'. Whenever you ask him, he is apt to reply that he is an 'Indian' and not a Hindu'.

Chaudhri Rahmat Ali, the Founder President of the Pakistan Movement, in a statement to the press says :

"We are not Hindus, but Muslims, we are not Indians but Asiatics,.*

In 1940, Mr. Jinnah declared,

"Let me say again that India is not a Nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of Nationalities... Hindus and Muslims being the two major Nations."**

In a meeting of the Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League held in March 1937, Mr. Jinnah emphasised,

*Daily Hayat, Karachi 22-3-1940.

**Quoted in Gandhi-Muslim Conspiracy by "Hindu Nationalist."

"It is not possible for Muslims and Hindus to merge their identities because of the fundamentally different social heritage and culture of the two communities."

Sir Mohd. Iqbal and Dr. Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan in a joint statement emphasised this.

"Inherent impossibility of securing any merger of the Hindu and the Muslim political, or, indeed, social interests."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is always taken to be one of the most Nationalistic of the Muslims and the Congress is always proud of giving him the topmost place. But Maulana in his Congress Presidential address of 1939 said, "I am a Mussalman first and Indian afterwards." This resembles more like the statement of an advocate of Pan-Islamism than the exponent of the Indian nationalism. Our view is all the more confirmed when we study Maulana's views of 1927. Presiding at the Muslim League Session held in Calcutta in 1927, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad declared,

"That by the Lucknow Pact they had sold away their interests. The Delhi proposals of March last opened the door for the first-time to the recognition of the real rights of

Mussalmans of India. The separate electorates granted by the Pact of 1916 only ensured Muslim representation, but what was vital for the existence of the community was the recognition of its numerical strength. Delhi opened the way to the creation of such a state of affairs as would guarantee to them in the future of India a proper share. Their existing small majority in Bengal and the Punjab was only a census figure, but the Delhi proposals gave them for the first time five Provinces of which no less than three (Sind, the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan) contained a real overwhelming Muslim majority. If the muslims did not recognise this great step they were not fit to live. There would now be nine Hindu provinces against five Muslim provinces, and whatever treatment Hindus accorded to the Muslims in the nine provinces, Muslims would accord the same treatment to the Hindus in the five provinces. Was not this great gain? Was not a new weapon gained for the assertion of the Muslim rights?"

This is typical or every Muslim, be he in the Congress or the Muslim League or in any other organization. As Veer Savarkar once said.

"Scratch a Nationalist Muslim, and one can find him to be as much a fanatic as the Muslim Leaguer".

But inspite of the declared will of the

Muslims of the Hindusthan, our great Congress Leader, is still misled as Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru writes in his Autobiography.

"This idea of a Muslim Nation is the figment of a few imaginations only, and but for the publicity given to it by the press, few people would have heard of it. And even if many people believed in it, it would still vanish at the touch of reality."

What a clear understanding of politics, what a systematic attempt to deceive one's own self ! The answer is to be found in the declaration made by the Muslim League in its resolution that the Muslims of India are a separate nation.

The attempt of the founders of the Congress in presupposing certain unfounded ideas is surely a great blunder. Even if there may be some likelihood of persuading some of the Muslims to follow this theory of an Indian Nation, it has not been possible under the Leadership of Mr. Gandhi who himself says,

"I am speaking to you as though I was a mussalman, because I have cultivated that respect for Islam which you have for it."*

* Quoted in Gandhi-Muslim Conspiracy by 'A Hindu Nationalist.'

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru writes,

“We have already made a great pact amongst ourselves, amongst all who desire national, and economic freedom to work together to this common end. The Muslims are in this pact just as the Hindus, the Sikhs and so many Christians. They are there as Indians.”*

He further declared.

“Personally I am convinced that nationalism can only come out of the ideological fusion of the Hindu, the Muslim, the Sikh and other groups of India”.*

How ignorant of realities the great Pandit is, when he says,

“Today in India there is absolutely no cultural or racial difference between the Muslim and Hindu masses.”**

The Pandit goes on,

“So far as India is concerned, not only do I believe that a United Indian Nation is possible but that, fundamentally and culturally, it exists in spite of numerous superficial differences.”**

Babu Rajendra Prasad, ex-President of the Indian National Congress criticising the

*Jawaharlal Nehru 'Eighteen months in India.'

**Jawaharlal Nehru 'Recent Essays and Writings.'

confederacy scheme put up by a Punjabi Muslim, writes in his book Pakistan :—

“He (the Author of ‘Confederacy of India’) comes to the conclusions, (namely, the Hindus and Muslims are separate Nations and that the uniformities which make a people a single Nation are lacking in their case) which will be regarded by all Nationalists, as historically wrong and utterly devoid of any hope for the future of this country.”

It is a pity that a leader of Babu Rajendra Prashad’s standing makes an assertion of pre-assuming one Nation in India without citing any historical evidence.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad goes a step further in trying to indeceive the people of this country. In his presidential address to the Indian National Congress he writes,

“That eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common achievements,”

and further the great Maulana states,

“Our language, our poetry, our literature, our culture, our art, our dress, our manners and customs” are the common achievements of the Hindus and the Muslims.”

What a vicious circle of deception and hypocrisy which the Congress leaders have immersed themselves in! Is it possible to deceive all people for all times? Certainly not. The truth is that eleven hundred years of history of mutual conflicts have left behind a legacy of bitter memories, communal hatred and religious intolerance. Can the great Maulana afford to ignore the wide gulf between the Hindus and the Muslim cultures, the difference in physical features of the two communities, their arts literatures and the very preliminary difference in their dress, not to speak of their customs and manners?

Mr. Gandhi, the Dictator of the Congress, writes in his book 'Hind Swaraj',

"The English have taught us that we were not one nation before, and that it will require centuries before we become one nation. This is without foundation. We were one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation, that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us.....Any two Indians are one as no two Englishmen are". "India cannot cease to be one nation, because people belonging to different religions live in it."

It is a pity that the foremost leaders of the Indian National Congress either have not read the Indian History before the rise of the English power, or refuse to see things in their true perspectives.

Lord Ronaldshay has written,

“The existence of seventy million Moslems in India is the most formidable obstacle in the way of those whose battle cry is “India is a Nation.”

It is the conviction of the Hindu Mahasabha that the Hindus themselves are a Nation. The beginning of our great Hindu Nation can be traced both historically and economically.

“No other Nation in the world,” writes Veer Savarkar in his Presidential address of Nagpur Session, “excepting perhaps the Chinese, can claim a continuity of life and growth so unbroken as our Hindu Nation does. The Hindu Nation is not a mushroom growth. It is not a treaty Nation. It is not a paper made toy. It was not cut to order. It is not an out-landish makeshift. It has grown out of this soil and has its roots struck deep and wide in it. It is not a fiction invented to spite the Moslems or anybody in the world. But it is a fact as stupendous and solid as the Himalayas that border our North”.

According to an injunction of Islam, the Muslims are to reside only in that country which is 'Dar-ul-Islam' or which is 'Dar-ul-Aman'. 'Dar-ul-Islam' signifies the place where Islam can be practised without fear and 'Dar-ul-Aman' means where Islamic Raj has been established. It is also expressly ordered in this religion that they must not reside in those countries where the rule of Islam does not exist or where they do not get freedom to practise and propagate Islam. If the Islamic supremacy disappears or if certain restrictions and limitations are imposed on the propaganda of Islam then the only course for the Muslims is either to leave that country or rebel against the alien rule. No less an authority than Maulana Abul Khan Azad the present Congress President, can be quoted to show the truth of this. He says,

"Against the non-Muslim Government, Islam prescribes only sword, protracted battle and the cutting of throats."*

The third alternative for the Muslims as set forth by their Holy Quran is, "Dar-ul-Harab" which means *battlefield*. In

*Gandhi Muslim Conspiracy by 'A Hindu Nationalist'.

the country where there is no Islamic rule or where Islam cannot be preached and diffused freely the Muslims should resort to war. According to the Muslim faith, India is neither 'Dar-ul-Islam' nor 'Dar-Ul-Aman. In a meeting of the Central Legislative Assembly on August 26, 1938, Kaji Mohammad Ahmed Kazim frankly said,

"After the abolition of the posts of Quaziz in 1864, we find that the real agitation started in India. It was at that time that continuous agitation was carried on by the Mussalmans and they decided that India was not 'Dar-ul-Islam', it ceased to be 'Dar-ul-Harab'. Even until today certain of our prayers are offered on the basis that it is 'Dar-ul-Harab'.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar rightly points out that,

"In the religious field the Hindus draw their inspiration from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and the Geeta. The Musalmans on the other hand derive their inspirations from the Quran and the Hadis. Thus, the things that divide are far more vital than the things that unite. In depending on certain common features of Hindu or Mohammedan social life, in relying upon common language, common race and common country the Hindu is mistaking

what is accidental and superficial for what is essential and fundamental. The political and religious antagonisms divide the Hindus and Musalmans far more deeply than the so-called common things able to bind them together.”*

Like rats before cats the Congress leaders close their eyes and ignore the very facts of history ; I wish they could have read the details of mutual relations that have existed for nearly a thousand years between the Hindus and the Muslims. How vividly some historians point this out.

Mr. Rasel Mathews writes,

“There are no viler or more awful cruelties in world’s history than those of Moghul Emperors in India. In cold blood they trampled their captives to death under elephants, tore out the hearts of children to fling in the face of their fathers, pulled men slowly to pieces with red hot pincers”.

The same fate was exactly meted out to Bir Bairagi Banda Bahadur who sounded the death knell of the Moghul Empire in the Puujab, whose victories and martyrdom resulted in the establishment of the Sikh supremacy in the Punjab.

*Thoughts on Pakistan.

The tale of the Muslim invasions in India from Mohammad Bin Qasim, Mahmud of Gazni down to Ahmedshah Abdali is not only a story of lust for loot or conquest but also an organised, bold and wilful attempt to establish Islam in India. All the invasions were in reality holy wars waged against the Hindus of the Hindustan. In one of his despatches to Hajjaj, Mohammad Bin Kasim, is quoted to have written :—

“The nephew of Raja Dahir, his warriors and principal officers have been despatched, and the infidels converted to Islam or destroyed. Instead of idol-temples, mosques and other places of worship have been created, the khutabah is read, the call at prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at stated hours. The Tekbir and Praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening”.

To which Hajjaj replied.

“Except that you give protection to all, great and small alike, make no difference between enemy and friend. God says, “Give no quarter to infidels, but cut their throats.” Then know that this is the Command of the great God. You shall not be too ready to grant protection, because it will prolong your work. After this give no quarter to any enemy, except those who are of rank.”

Utbi, the historian of Mohammad, in describing his raids said :—

“He demolished idol temples, and established Islam. He captured.....cities, killed the polluted wretches, destroying the idolators, and gratifying the Moslems. He then returned home and promulgated the accounts of the victories obtained for Islam.....and vowed that every year he would undertake a holy war against Hind.”

Khawja Hasan Nizami, writing about the invasions of Mohammad Ghori writes,

“He purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of the country from the thorn of God-plurality and the impurity of idol-worship, and by his royal vigour and intrepidity left not one temple standing.”

Taimoor in his memoirs has stated,

“My object in the invasion of the Hindustan is to lead a campaign against the infidels, to convert them to the true faith according to the command of Muhammad (on whom and his family be the blessing and peace of God) to purify the land from the defilement of disbelief and polytheism, and overthrow the temples and idols whereby we shall be Ghazis and muryhkids, companions and soldiers of the faith before God.”

Even about Shah Jahan, who is presented in history, as a non-oppressor of the Hindus, it is recorded in the Badshah-namah :

"It has been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign (of Akbar) many idol temples had been begun but remained unfinished at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the Defender of the Faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout his dominions in every place all temples that had been begun, should be cast down. It was reported from the province of Allahabad that 76 temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares".

Allauddin, in anticipation of a rebellion ordained that,

"The Hindu was to be left unable to keep a horse to ride on, to carry arms, to wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life."

These were so strictly carried out that the chaukidars and khots and muqaddims were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to wear fine clothes, or to indulge in betel—No Hindu could hold up his head.....Blows, confinement in stocks, imprisonment and chains were employed to enforce payment.

Akbar the Great was considered the greatest Indian Ruler of his times. The worshippers of the Goddess of "United Indian Nation" take pride in styling Akbar as the champion of the Hindu-Muslim Unity and maker of Indian Nation. Perhaps they have not read what Mr. W. H. Morland in an Economic Survey of India writes,

"I find that just under 70% of the remainder (appointments) belonged to the families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at the Court after the accession of Akbar; the remaining 30% of the appointments were made to Indians rather more than half by Muslims and rather less than half by Hindus. . . . In the course of about 40 years he appointed in all 21 Hindus to ranks above 500 but of these 17 were Rajputs."

And that also because the Rajputs were indispensable for him.

These leaders have forgotton that history repeats itself.

The law regarding the position of the Hindus in a Muslim State was interpreted by a kazi in the reign of Sultan Alla-ud-Din Khilji enjoining that,

"They (Hindus) are Khiraj-Gizars (payers of tribute) and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should without question and with all humility and respect tender gold. If the Muhasib (tax-collector) chooses to spit into their mouths, they must without reluctance open mouths wide to receive it.....To keep the Hindus in their abasement is especially a religious duty, because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet and because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them, and make them captives saying, "Convert them to Islam or kill them, and make them slaves, and spoil their wealth and property."

In 1925 Pandit Madan Malaviya was actively working for the Hindu Mahasabha. In these days tension between the Hindus and the Mohammedans was very great. A controversy started as to who won the third battle of Panipat. The Muslims claimed it a great victory for them because Ahmed Shah Abdali fought with 1 lakh of Muslims against 6 lakhs of the Mahrattas. The Hindus claimed the victory for them as Veer Savarkar in his book "Hindu Padpadshah" says "battle was lost but the war was won!" Maulana Akbar Shah Khan of Najibabad issued the following challenge to Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya. While it showed

the Muslims' readiness to try conclusions once again, it also proved beyond doubt the absurdity of the cry of a 'United Hindu Muslim Nation.' The challenge reads:

"If you, Malviyaji, are making efforts to falsify the result at Panipat, I shall show you an easy and an excellent way (of testing it). Use your well-known influence and induce the British Government to permit the fourth battle of Panipat to be fought out without hinderance from the authorities. I am ready to provide..... a comparative test of the valour and fighting spirit of the Hindus and the Mussalmans... :..... As there are seven crores of Mussalmans in India, I shall arrive on a fixed date on the plain of Panipat with 700 mussalmans representing the 7 crores of moslems in India and there are 22 crores of Hindus, I allow you to come with 2,200 Hindus. The proper thing is not to use cannon, machine guns or bombs: only swords and javelins and spears, bows and arrows and daggers should be used. If you cannot accept the post of generalissimo of the Hindu host, you may give it to any descendent of Sadashivrao or Vishwasrao so that their scions may have an opportunity to avenge the defeat of their ancestors in 1761. But any way, do come as a spectator; for on seeing the result of this battle you will have to change your views, and I hope there will then be an end of the present discord and fighting in

the country. In conclusion I beg to add that among the 700 men that I shall bring there will be no pathans or afghans as you are mortally afraid of them. So I shall bring with me only Indian Muslims of good family who are staunch adherents of the *shariat*.”*

On the 8th April, 1939, Raja of Mahmoodabad presiding over the provincial Muslim League conference held in Delhi, said :—

“Let the *Karars* (The Hindus have been contemptuously stamped as a community of shop keepers) know that a community that once conquered India with 8 soldiers can dictate its terms even to-day. If any hindrance is placed in our way to the formation of the Muslim Federation (now the word *Pakistan* is given), the ears of the *Karars* will be boxed and they will have to lick the dust. The community still plays a part in the world history and if the noisy pen-drivers, as the Hindus are, dare oppose us, they shall be effaced from the earth.”†

The Khaksar organization goes a step further than the Muslim League, as the latter apparently demanded equality of rights with the Hindus on the basis of the Muslims being considered a separate nation, while the former,

* Times of India 6, June, 1925.

† Hindu Outlook June, 7, 1939. (Brackets mine).

enunciating the principle of violence contended that sanction behind the future Government of India would be 'Blood' and not majority of population. As a testimony to their contention, they quoted the holy Quran which commands, "The faithful are those who murder and are murdered". Commenting on their holy commandment, the Leader of the Khaksar organization Allama Mashraqi writes,

"If the Britishers feel themselves incompetent to hold their own in India, and if their incompetence has reached the extent that they want to hand over the garden to the birds in place of the gardener, the Muslims would be compelled to come forward with the book depicting the story of the world and show that it was all written in the words of blood and not in those of spectacles, pantaloons, dhoties, salutes with folded hands, lathi blows or the spinning wheel. Whosoever may wish to read it may do so with open eyes."*

The Muslims and the Hindus are so diametrically opposed in social, religious, economic and political aspects that any attempt to unite them into one nation was simply a sort of an attempt at coinciding two parallel lines.

* Al-Isleh, Lahore.

Clifford Manshardt very beautifully analysing the fundamental differences between these two nations in his book the 'Hindu-Muslim Problem in India' writes,

"The Hindus and the Muslims have unlike traditions. They have a different historical background. For a long period of time both the Hindus and Muslims had an independent history a history of which each group was naturally proud. When their history began to overlap in India, it was only to be expected that each group would interpret events through its own glasses a process which has continued down to the present day. The Muslim still interprets history from the Muslim angle and the Hindu from the Hindu Angle. Each group has its own heroes to whom it gives devoted honour. Historical dramas, of which the Indian people are very fond, carry their distorted versions of historical events to the uneducated and prejudice their minds. Communal Schools make little effort to build up an Indian National Tradition."

"The Hindus and Muslims who inhabit one village, one town, or one district belong to two separate nations more distant and spiritually farther asunder than two European Nations,"

writes Sir Theodore Morrison in 'Political India.'

Clifford Manshardt continues "Differing religious practices are perhaps the most immediate causes of communal disorders. While the Hindu reverences the cow, that Muslim practices cow-slaughter in connection with *Bakr-Id*."

Sir Abdul Rahim once put this point clearly and courageously,

"Any of us Indian Muslims travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs and Turks would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India, we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the streets and enter that part of the town, where our Hindu fellow--townsmen live.*

Mayhew points out :—

"Even within the world of political and racial strife the dust of conflict has been unable to hide the fact that the constructive aims and positive methods of Hindu and Muhammadan remains as fundamentally antagonistic as, their outlook on life..... In its failure to reach the heart or effect the springs of constructive activity it has left the two religions in opposite camps."

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar writes in his book 'Thoughts on Pakistan, thus :—

*Quoted by Clifford Manshardt in his book the Hindu Muslim Problem in India.

"The method adopted by the invaders have left behind them their aftermath. One aftermath is the bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims which they have caused. This bitterness, between the two, is so deep-seated that a century of political life has not succeeded in assuaging it, not making people forget it. Accompanied as the invasions were with the destruction of temples and forced conversions, with the spoilation of property, with the slaughter, enslavement and abasement of men, women and children, what wonder if the memory of those invasions has ever remained green, as a source of pride to the Muslims and as a source of shame to the Hindus."

The Hindus and the Muslims evidently differ from each other in every respect. Their religious beliefs stand as poles asunder and even in language and literature differences are equally great.

Gandhiji unfortunately reads the history from a different standpoint, as he remarked at the Indian Round Table Conference at London in 1932.

"Were Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British Rule, when there was no English face seen there? We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu Historians and

by Musalman historians to say that we were living in comparative peace even then."

In History a Hindu would naturally revere the memory of Chhatarsal, Maharana Pratap, Shivaji and Beragai Bir, who fought the Muslims for the honour and freedom of our land, while the Muslims would revere the invaders like Mohammad Bin Qasim, Mahmood Gazni, and Rulers like Aurangzeb and take them as national heroes. The heroes of the Muslims, we believe, were oppressors and aggressors of Hindus and all that was Hindudom.

The religious teachings of Islam dominate the conduct of the Muslims in every sphere of their life. They always stand in the way of their joining hands with the Hindus. Religion to a Muslim is their be-all and the end-all of his existence. He could accept the leadership of a non-muslim, provided that non-muslim was fanatically pro-muslim as they accepted for sometime the leadership of Mr. Gandhi.

To make a new nation in India is not so easy and simple an affair as it appeared to us fifty years ago, even if for argument's sake we acknowledge its possibility. This fact was

brought to the notice of the then Congress leaders immediately after its foundation, when Sir Syed Ahmad opposed the Congress and advised the Mohammadans to have a separate organization of their own. Ever since that time the Congress Leaders have been running after the co-operation of the Muslims, but the pity is that all their attempts proved vain. The history of the last 55 years of the Congress has brought us to one conclusion that the idea of a common nationality is impracticable in India.

It is foolishly absurd to think that mutual pacts would ever help us in forming a common nationality or a united Indian nation. We know full well that the Lucknow Pact, with which we wanted to conciliate the Monammadans, that alliance and support of the Congress with the Khilafat, immensely added to the Mohammadan fanaticism and strengthened them both in and outside India. Similarly, various other attempts or unity Conferences organized by the Congress in order to seek the Muslim co-operation sowed the seeds of communal tension for all times to come. What we most clearly understand is that these pacts have created and aroused the Mohammadan

communal consciousness which has been growing strong at every step that the Congress have been taking, in order to win the Mohammadans by yielding before the Muslims. It is in the very nature of an aggressive organisation especially like that of the Muslims that its appetite should be whetted with the viands won by the capitulation of the Congress. Leaders have been and are still showing an absolute lack of sound political sense or satatesmanship as they have been yielding to the communal demands or showing their eagerness to win the co-operation of the Muslims at all costs. The more the Congress seeks to please the Muslims, the less becomes the chance of having a United Nation in India,

“No nation can grow out of the patch-work binding together two or more civilizations. The very idea of common nationality and the idea of pertaining to different cultures and civilizations are contradictory.”

Writes Shrimati Savitri Devi in her book “Warning to the Hindus”.

“I am firmly convinced” argued the late L. Lajpat Rai, speaking at the First All Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference in 1909, “That it is impossible to build up an Indian Nation from above. The

structure must be built from below. It is rather putting the cart before the horse in expecting the Hindus and the Mohammadans to unite and make a common cause, before bringing about a sense of unity and solidarity amongst the different sections of the Hindu Community itself. The attempt to bring about a political union between the Hindus and the Muhammedans has so far met with scant success not because the cause was unholy, but because it was based upon false ideas and in utter contempt of facts and existing conditions. The revolt came first from the Mohammadans. They thought that this premature union on unequal terms was likely to injure them. The result is that with the lapse of years our Hindu Mohammadan problem, instead of being within a near distance to solution, is as far from the desired consummation as it was 20 years ago. Nay, to those who have eyes to see, it is getting more and more complicated every day. The relations between the two communities are more strained today than they were in 1880 or before. While the Mohammadans have gained in unity and solidarity by uniting their brethren and making a serious effort to close up their ranks, the Hindus have lost ground in every direction. In this inter-communal struggle the Hindus stand to-day discomfited and discarded, and deservedly so, because in their programme of nation building, they ignore the basic principles of this process. The right method for them

was first to work seriously and whole-heartedly for the union of their own people without unnecessarily arousing the antipathy and antagonism of their countrymen of other faiths. Success in this direction would have brought them nearer the goal than otherwise. It is futile to attempt a chimerical and premature union of the various religious nationalities that are to be found in India, the principal of which are the Hindus, the Mohammadans and the Christians. Let the Hindus cease to be Hindus, the Mohammadans shall always be Mohammadans for all time to come".

The late Lalaji was one of the great Political leaders of his time. He was once the president of the Indian National Congress and a great Congress leader. Long before India had heard of leaders like Mr. Jinnah, Shaukat Ali and others in their Muslim League colour and long before the cry of 'Pakistan' had been raised he came to the above conclusion. How correct are the conclusions even today, history is now proving, and how the Hindus have lost ground today and stand discarded, discomfited and isolated, is too apparent to need any proof.

The great prophet of the Punjab, the late Lala Lalchand wrote in 1909, in his 'Self Abnegation in Politics'.

"My objection against the Congress, however, are of a different hue. In the first place, and this is the strongest and most serious objection, the Congress proceeded on a wrong assumption of a united nation. The result was that it entirely ignored the Hindu aspect of public and political questions. This fallacy was taken advantage of by the other community to press their vantage point, and, in the end the Hindus lost heavily. They incurred the whole odium for the distasteful work from the Government point of view, and when the time came for rewarding the labours, the substantial portion of the reward was assigned to the other community. Not only this, but they were given also a political importance which they never possessed before, while the Hindus were lowered in the scale from the position which they had already occupied. And with all these events passing before their eyes, the Congress through its mouthpiece the Indian National Congress Committee moved not a single finger to render support or help to the Hindu cause. Nay, it did not even condescend to give an encouragement to the community in the struggle. On the other hand, its main exponent tried to shut the Hindu mouth against even raising a lament. A movement is judged by its results, just as a tree by its fruits. A tree, however, bright and beautiful in form and figure, if it bears bitter or poisonous fruit will be shunned and avoided. The Congress may possess very high ideas of

a United India, admirable to look at from a distance, but if the result is bitter, I cannot conceive how a Hindu, who has the least spark left in him of warmth of Hindu feeling and patriotism, can help and join the movement.

“Even apart from the question of political loss or gain my objection against the Congress is that it makes the Hindus forget that they are “Hindus” and tends to swamp their communal individuality into an Indian ideal, thus making them break with all their past traditions and past glory. I regard this as a very heavy price to pay. The conversion to the new ideal means worse than the effects of foreign invasions that have hitherto hammered the Hindu community. During these times in spite of very oppressive circumstances, the Hindus have maintained intact their communal organisation, and why they should voluntarily surrender and abandon the same passes my comprehension. Moreover, the other community has steadfastly refused to join hands, and under the circumstances, it appears to me to be pure imbecility and cowardliness to appear under a united flag. The idea, therefore set up by the Congress was not only erroneous to start with, but it has become impossible, under the declared hostile attitude of the other community. The only possible, nay, honourable course under the circumstances in fact is to start anew on a fresh basis, abandoning, if not

pulling down, the fabric which instead of giving political shelter and refuge has exposed the community to winds and hailstorms from every quarter."

There have been many Muslim writers in India who have tried to represent the muslim political angle of vision. Almost all of them are at one that the Muslims were never linked up with the Hindus but the Congress still goes on believing in the existence of an ideologically United Indian Nation. Perhaps the 'Punjabi' the author of the 'Confederacy of India' published by the Nawab of Majdot of Lahore is the most prominent of all. He attracted numerous criticisms from various quarters. He is frank to a fault in placing before us the Muslim point of view. We quote below his views on the theory of the United Indian Nation.

"All the confusion and chaos which is witnessed all around in the ranks of various political groups especially that of Muslims, is due to this wrong notion about India and its people. The very presence of communalism in all our ranks shows that Hindus and Muslims are not one nation, but two nationsIt is wrong to conceive Hindus and Muslims as members of the same nation merely on account of the accident of conquest of India by the

British. Subjugation of two or more nations to another nation can never make them a single nation howsoever the conquering nations for its own convenience may describe them as one people.

“The myth of a single Hindu-Muslim nation in the Indian subcontinent is unprecedented in the modern history of the world. It is high time that this myth should be exploded in the interests of a happier and contented India.

“It is high time that the Congress showed enough moral courage to admit its failure in uniting the communities into a single nation. It has attempted for over half a century to bring them together. It has not succeeded in persuading the communities to sink their religious and cultural differences and in giving them a single view-point regarding the political situation obtainable in India. The Congress should not waste any more time on this experiment and should at once proceed to revise its opinion, as also, the data on which they are based. It should view the situation from a correct angle and should not close its eyes to the reality in order to run blindly after the fiction of a single nation.”

Beyond all doubts, the problem is clear. It was the Himalayan blunder of the first magnitude of the Indian National Congress to place the foundation of their organization on

the assumption of a United Indian Nation. For the last sixty years we have been led in an entirely opposite direction with the result that we have gone very far away from our goal. The misfortune is that the leaders who guide the destinies of the Congress are still wedded to this policy. It is no more a matter of policy to them. It has rather become the very source of their inspiration, the very breath of their nostrils.

We are quite sure that Hindus are a nation by themselves. If any Congress leader cannot understand it, it is his misfortune or it is our bad luck that we have not been able to make him understand. Veer Savarkar has rightly said,

“ Our bards bewailed the fall of Hindus, our seers roused the feelings of Hindus, our heroes fought the battles of Hindus, our saints blessed the efforts of Hindus, our mothers wept over the wounds and gloried over the triumphs of Hindus”.

The Hindu Mahasabha ideology therefore differs from the Congress as poles apart, and no amount of tinkering, no amount of soldering will help the Congress and make the Muslims join it.

VI.

COMMUNALISM OR NATIONALISM.

To every man upon this earth.
Death cometh soon or late.
"And how can a man die better,
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temple of his Gods."

Q. "Which of the two you think more communal.....the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha?"

Mr. Gandhi:—"There is nothing to choose between the two."

Q. "Do you think that they are equally communal?"

Mr. Gandhi :—"I think so. There may be a difference of kind but there is no difference of quality."*

The Hindu Mahasabha, according to Mr. Gandhi, is as communal as the Muslim League. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru goes a step further. He says,

"Under cover of seeming Nationalism, the Mahasabha not only hides the rankest and narrowest communalism but also desires to preserve the vested interests of the group

* Harijan, March 2, 1940.

of big Hindu landlords and the princes. The policy of the Mahasabha.....is betrayal of the freedom struggle, denial of every vestige of nationalism and suppression of every manly instinct in the Hindus."

He goes on

"The activities of the Hindu Mahasabha have been communal, anti-national and reactionary."*

There is no need of proving any further as to what the Indian National Congress thinks of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Congress and British Bureaucracy though differ in all aspects, yet both agree in taking the Hindu Mahasabha as a communal organization. The author of the Census Report 1931 J. H. Hutton Esq. describes, "Hindu Mahasabha a frankly communal organization." According to the foremost Leaders of the Congress the Hindu Mahasabha is communal, reactionary and anti-national—the Hindu Mahasabha which has so far stood in the struggle for the freedom of our Mother-land. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru is somehow less bitter against the Muslim League and even goes so far as to justify its existence, saying,

* Jawaharlal Nehru, Recent Essays & writings.

"I do not think that the Muslim communal organizations, chief among whom are the Muslim All parties' Conference and the Muslim League, represent any large group of Muslims in India except in the sense that they exploit the prevailing communal sentiment. But the fact remains that they claim to speak for Muslims and no other organization has so far risen which can successfully challenge that claim."*

We believe that it is not the Hindu Mahasabha which is communal but it is in reality the Indian National Congress which has so far under the high slogans and catchwords of Nationalism nurtured communalism and has introduced it in the body politic of the Hindustan. This is another of our important differences with the Congress.

Before we go further we must know what is communalism and what is nationalism. Both these 'isms' and philosophies concern the largest and most dominant community and the Hindu nation. What a nation is and what a community is are the foremost questions for us to solve. Let us first attend to the various definitions of some of the great jurisits.

*Jawaharlal Nehru, Recent Essays & writings.

“Nation means people or race distinguished by community of descent, language, history, or political institutions”.....Fowler

“Nationality is a corporate sentiment, a kind of fellow-feeling or mutual sympathy relating to a definite home country. It springs from a common heritage of memories, whether of great achievements and glories or of disasters and sufferings ”.....
Hole-Combay.

“A population having a common consciousness of rights and wrongs, inhabiting a territory of a geographical unity”.....Burgess.

“It is a union of masses of men of different occupations and social status, in a hereditary society of common spirit; feeling and race bound together especially by language and customs in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners, quite apart from the bond of the state”...Bluntsley.

“Nationality is to denote a population having common bonds of race, language, religion tradition and history. These influences create the consciousness of unity that binds individuals into a nationality.”...Getel.

“Nation is a community of civilization.”...
Gumplovic.

“A Nation is a community, members of which are bound to one another by racial, entomological, religious and linguistic ties.”...
Kale.

The Hon'ble Loknayak M. S. Aney, writing to preface to 'We' says.

"Without any fear of contradiction, the Hindus are a Nation or nationality by themselves. They have a common cultural language and a common literature which regulate and govern their life even in minute details. They have developed a common outlook on life which is decidedly different from that of any other people. They have their home-land distinctly marked out on the map from the rest of the world by such natural demarcations as no other country is fortunate to possess. They have developed a corporate sentiment which has enabled them to rise and attain their glorious positions more than once during the last thousand years inspite of the invasions and conquests of the barbarous conquering hordes from the North and the West. It has to its credit great achievements in the field of literature, service and philosophy. The Hindus in the North and South inspite of superficial differences have common basis for their magnificent architecture, painting, music, dancing and several other fine arts. No sane man can question the proposition that the Hindus are a Nation."

The late L. Lajpat Rai defines Nation,

"It is a union of masses of men of different occupations and social strata in a hereditary society of common spirits, feeling

and race, bound together, especially by language and customs in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners, quite apart from the hand of state.

"Judged from this point of view, the Hindus are a 'People' (Nation), inspite of the fact that there are persons comprised in that term whose religion in its dogmatic part is different from the bulk of the 'People' and inspite of the fact that they speak different dialects. I am not a believer in racial purity or in social supremacy, but if there is people or a nation on the face of the globe that can claim the greatest amount of purity of blood, they are the Hindus. My position, however, is that if identity of racial origin is a necessary condition for the community of a people, which I do not admit, then it exists to the largest possible extent amongst the Hindus. As to the community of language, it is unfortunate that there should be so much dialectic difference among the spoken languages of India. But as long as there is a single line of Sanskrit existing in the world, so long will it be said that it was and it is the language of the Hindus. With the exception of the Dravidian language spoken in the South (which contained a goodly large number of Sanskrit words) all the other spoken languages of India meet in their common ancestor, the Sanskrit".*

Our prayers embodied in our Holy Vedas, undisputedly declare that we have been a nation among ourselves.

The following Vedic Mantras breathe the same spirit of Nationhood :—

“May the objective be common, common the organization, common the mind, so be your thought united. I lay before you a common aim, and worship with your common oblation.

“Work together, speak together, let your minds be all alike, as in ancient times your ancestors used to worship with one mind.”

“May your decisions be unanimous, your heart being of one accord, May the thoughts of all be united so that there may be a happy agreement among all.”

The word ‘community’ from which communalism is derived means,

“A body of men having religion in common as Judaism, Islam or common possession or enjoyment of an unreserved community (oneness) of thought and feeling.”

*Lala Lajpat Rai's speech at 1st Provincial Hindu Conference held in Lahore in 1909.

Broadly speaking, community means, persons believing in a particular religious creed. The Congress Leaders, when they dub the Hindus a community, labour under great misunderstandings. Consciously or unconsciously they understand that Hinduism also to be a revealed religion of a definite creed like Islam or Christianity.

Hinduism is not a revealed religion through any one religious teacher. It is a philosophic religion revealed through the teachings of the great thinkers, savants, sages and philosophers in the shape of the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Gita the Upanishads and the schools of philosophy. Hinduism has not the narrowness of the bigotry of any revealed religion because it is not the expression of any personality like Christ or Muhammad. Throughout the last five thousand years the Hindus and Hinduism have not shown any zeal for conversion of the people of other religions to itself. It has exhibited a supreme nonchalance even when its ranks have been thinned by the proselytising ardour and zeal of Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. Despite

the Tartar, Hun, and Mongol invasions Hinduism has stood solid like a Chrysolite.

The Christian and the Muslims are of course communities. In Christianity, a Christian is he who believes in the religion of Christ. He must believe in God and his only son Christ who came to this world to redeem the people from sin. One who does not believe in Christ can never be a Christian. Similarly, a Muslim must believe in God and the great Prophet Mohammad. He must have faith in the definite creed of Islam and its set principles. The 'Punjabi' writing as to who a Muslim is, observes in 'Pakistan'.

"One very important point which we want to make clear about the Muslims is that they are not a 'Nation', a term which implies a relationship, territorial and ethnological in its nature. In fact they are a fraternity, a brotherhood, who derive their very life-blood from a particular faith, Islam. In their case the use of the term 'Nation' is a misnomer. But as its use has become so very common we should understand from it a fraternity bound together by the principles of Islam.

"We are one by our belief in the "Divine Ideology" revealed to the world through our Holy Prophet. Our unity of thought

depends upon our faith in the Holy Quran, which has once for all settled for us all problems, with the result that no doubt assail our minds and no questions disturb our equanimity, placing us above the need of individual thinking. Thus we are an indoctrinated people. What distinguishes us from others is our common faith and nothing else. If this is nationalism, in our case too then certainly it is different from that of the other people."

Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the inspiring poet of the Muslims says,

"I am opposed to nationalism, as it is understood in Europe, not because of the fact if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to the Muslims; I am opposed to it, because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity.

"Our ideal is well defined. It is to win, in the coming constitution, a position for Islam which may bring her opportunities to fulfil her destiny."

If the Congress Leaders understand to-day that Hinduism is not a religion in this sense they would at once find out that the whole fabric of their political philosophy crumbled away like a house of cards.

"In the ordinary sense Hinduism is not a religion at all", says Sir Charles Elistom, "It is a quest of truth and way of life."

All are Hindus whatever their belief is to the ultimate reality. Hinduism includes Daulist, the Non-Daulist, the Smarta, the Vashnava, the Shaiva and every other school of thought or philosophy that appeared in this holy land of ours. It was only at the advent of Christianity and Islam that a Hindu had to be labelled with definite "ism" called Hinduism.

Christianity and Islam did convert a part of the Hindu population which ceased to be 'Hindu' thereafter. Wide as the Hindu Universe was, and tolerant of diversities of race and religion these converts to other religions passed out of its orbit into a wholly new way of life. It must remain a matter of doubt whether Hinduism put them outside the pale, or the new converts to other relegions preferred to consider themselves as having passed out of its pale. It is the way of life rather than mere beliefs that mattered to the Hindus. Hinduism has, within its pale, sects entertaining views similar to those of Christianity and Islam but Hinduism has not disowned them at any time. Within the Hindu fold we have had Buddhisim

and Jainism, both pre-Christian and purely indigenous growths. It is highly doubtful whether either of these Buddhism or Jainism looked upon as dividing in any way the population as Islam or Christianity has done. On the other hand it is fairly certain that an individual's acceptance of the creed of Buddhism or Jainism did not interfere with his relations with the Hindus. Since the advent of Islam, we have had the Sikhs, the Kabir Panthis, the Arya Samaj, the Brahmoism, the Ram Krishna Mission, the Theosophical Society, etc. etc. All these remained more or less 'Hindu', and none could distinguish from their social relations that they differed at all. Christianity and Islam may, therefore, be taken as the first disturbers of our sense of unity unaffected by the diversity of races or beliefs, or modes of life. Within the fold of Hinduism itself, neither the existing, nor the newly arising forms or modes disturbed the Hindu sense of unity, and solidarity because of the normal temper of the people to tolerate all differences of view.

"Hinduism is the name given to the religion of diverse peoples who became welded into one united people."

Clifford Manshardt in his book 'Hindu-Muslim Problem in India' writes,

"Had the Muslims next asked, "what do the Hindus believe?" The probable answer would have been, 'Anything'.....Hinduism has no theological tenets to which a man must profess allegiance. Though Hinduism has many gods and many sacred books, a man may remain a Hindu without professing belief in any God or Book." "It is the system we call Hinduism"

Writes Sir Valentine Chirol in his Book 'India'.

"Unlike the other great religions of the world, it has never identified itself with the personal inspiration of any mighty great teacher or Prophet. It never required the acceptance of any definite creed or the worship of any one or more particular deities."

Philosophically, Hinduism is an attitude of mind and not an outlook on life but it is not only this. It is a number of cults, any of which one may choose.

Shrimati Savitri Devi writes in her book 'A warning to the Hindus'.

"We call "Creedal religions" all religions of the type of Christianity or Islam, in which the link among the faithful is necessarily

common beliefs, but not necessarily common civilization or culture.

"But there are religions which do not rest upon any moral or metaphysical 'truth'; considered as absolute...Take the instance of the cultured Modern Hindus, of different sects. There is very little common in their religious outlook, or in the particular discipline they may follow. One worships a personal God; one worships God as impersonal; a third one does not believe in God at all ; one practises Hatha Yoga, another practises nothing but Bhakti. Still, they are all Hindus, just as the ancient Greeks, inspite of their opposite metaphysical views, or of their personal devotion to entirely different gods, were the followers of the same 'religion'.....It is easy to see that the word 'religion', in this case, bears a totally different meaning from that which it had, while applied to 'creedal religions' such as Chritianity, or Islam. Two Indians, of whom one believes in God and one does not, are two Hindus, provided they both share that culture and civilization which is the only thing all Hindus are supposed to have in common, which is really Hinduism'. We should not, therefore, confuse Hinduism with Hindu religion as it is understood in these days. From the very ancient times we (Hindus) had developed systems, laws and morality which we named "Hindu Dharma,"

Justice Woodroffe observes,

"Hinduism is, in fact, not so much a religion as a culture which has produced among other things, certain fundamental religious and philosophical beliefs, on which have been superimposed a number of varying forms of particular philosophies and religions."

We cannot possibly agree with the Congress philosophy as enunciated by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.

"Personally I am convinced that nationalism can only come out of the ideological fusion of the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other groups in India."

Our basis of political philosophy is that the only true nationalism is the Hindu Nationalism. But for Panditji Hindu Nationalism is nothing but Hindu communalism, as he writes while repudiating one of Shri Bhai Parmanandji's statement.

If the possibility of Hindu Muslim Co-operation is ruled out in the country-wide sense of the word, the inevitable consequence and Bhaiji accepts this, is what he calls "Hindu nationalism", which is but another name for Hindu Communalism.*

The communalism which we see in India is nothing but Muslim Communalism encouraged by the British Government to placate the

* Jawahar Lal Nehru Recent Essays and writings.

Muslim countries outside India. This rank Muslim Communalism is supported and nurtured by the Indian National Congress and Mr. Gandhi."

It is often forgotten that the Hindus numerically form a population exceeding 350 millions and are fully entitled to be democratically considered as a nation. Even on the basis of the formidable strength and numbers alone—numbers which is the ultimate criterion of a democratic constitution, the Congress Leaders by a curious way of thinking and logic have persuaded themselves into the belief that the Hindus form a mere community of India. The Hindus are not a majority, by the sufferance either of the British Raj or the Muslims or any body else. We are in a majority because we have proved in the struggle for existence to be the fittest to survive. History bears witness to the fact that we had to be prey to those who wanted to efface the very existence of our race. From the days of Alexander, our masters only changed in names, the Scythians in the 1st century, the Arabs in the 7th century, the Turks in the 12 century and we struggled and struggled for our existence and honour, but before we won

and consolidated our position, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French tried to become our masters, who themselves were supplemented by the Englsh who finally over-ran us and have been our Masters.

The sword of Ahmad Shah Abdali is not forgotten still, by whom at Muttra alone thousands of children were put to the sword and as a Moslim historian said, the water of the Jamna remained red for 7 days with the blood of those unborn babies.

How many mothers and sisters of ours embraced the burning flames rather than agreeing to accepting Islam. The Fort of Chittor reminds us all. We tolerated and saw the traitors amongst us who out of fear or favour embraced an alien faith and became happy and contented. We did feel our humiliation but we pitied them. Yet we kept our numbers. Was it a sin that we committed for which the Congress Leaders now punished us by calling us communalists. The Hindus of Hindusthan must be regarded as a nation by themselves and their nationhood should not suffer in any way by the existence of the Muslim or other minorities in India.

All the ingredients (1) A definite home country' or 'a territory of geographical unity' (2) 'Race-a hereditary society' (3) 'Religious ties' (4) 'Common civilization' (5) 'Common bond of tradition and history' (6) 'Linguistic Unity' essential for the formation of a nation in strict conformity with the definitions of Jurists, are found in the case of the Hindus.

We have got the Hindusthan as our motherland-a definite home country. We Hindus can prove the fundamental unity of the Hindu nation based on the common customs, the common languages, the common memories of the Shastras, the common, victories and disasters. Hinduism, the greatest of the rational religions of the world, forms the very breath of our people. From times immemo- rial Sanskrit, our Dev Bhasha, or the language of the gods, has played a very salient part from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari and from the Khyber Pass to Burma. It is a pity that a number of culturally conquered Congress leaders have questioned the very existence of Hinduism and Hindu nationhood.

Our Congress Leaders know more of Tolstoy and Lenin and very little of Manu,

Chanakya, and of the real Indian History. To ululate by the beat of drum that the Hindus are not a nation and to question the existence of the Hindu Nation intentionally and with the tongue in the cheek is a great insult that could be done to a living people. The Great Hindu poet, Tulsi Dass rightly observed :—

यद्यपि जग दारुण दुःख नाना ।
सब से अधिक जाति अपमाना ॥

“Though there are innumerable sufferings in the world, yet there is none more agonizing than the insult hurled at one's own nation.”

We the Hindus are a nation by ourselves and our political philosophy can never be anything but nationalism. The Hindu Mahasabha in the main is, therefore a national body and not a religious or communal one. Veer Savarkar observes in his book 'Hindu Sangathan'.

“The Hindu Mahasabha takes its stand on no dogma, no book or school of Philosophy, whether pantheist, monotheist or atheist. All that it is concerned with, so far as 'ism' is concerned, is the common characteristics, which a Hindu, by the very fact of professing allegiance or faith to a religion of Indian origin, necessarily possesses in regarding India as his Holy Land, the cradle and the Temple of his faith.

Thus while only indirectly concerned with Hinduism which is only one of the many aspects of 'Hindutva', the Mahasabha is mainly concerned with other aspects of Hindutva resulting from the second constituent of possessing a common father-land. The Mahasabha is not, in the main, a Hindu-Dharma-Sabha, but it is pre-eminently a Hindu Rashtra Sabha and is a Pan-Hindu organization shaping the destiny of the Hindu Nation in its social, political and cultural aspects. Those who commit the serious mistake of taking the Hindu Mahasabha for only a religious body would do well to keep this distinction in mind."

Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami
Shastri observes.

"It is equally a misuse of words, to call the Hindu Mahasabha as the Congress has dared to call it a communal organization. Communalism is to be denounced, when the attempt is to get for a community more than its due and proportionate share of rights. A community that wants only its due share of the same cannot be convicted of communalism. If the word '*Communalism*' is unsavoury, let us use the word '*Communityism*' When the Hindu Mahasabha works for the welfare of India as a whole and bases itself on a territorial patriotism and not on any communal selfishness, when it takes its stand on Democracy and Unity

for India as a whole, (while Mr. Jinnah says that India is not fit for Democracy) when it pines and works for *Purna Swaraj* for the whole of India and does not aim at Swaraj for the Hindus alone, (whereas Mr. Jinnah aims at slicing India and winning Swaraj for the Muslims alone), when it does not claim any special or exclusive right or weightage (as the Muslim League does) when it is willing, nay, eager to safeguard the legitimate rights of all the minorities in the matter of.....culture and language and religion and personal law and customs and institutions, how can it, consistently with reason be called a Communal Organisation?

The Hindu Mahasabha has always taken its stand on a truly national basis. Does it appear to be communal only because it fights and opposes communalism while the Congress dares not? Even Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has himself admitted this great fact, when he writes.

"It is perfectly true that the Hindu Mahasabha has stood for joint electorates right through its career and this is obviously the only national solution of the problem."*

From the very beginning of the Indian National Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha has been trying to prevent the introduction of communal poison in India's politics. The Muslims

* Jawaharlal Nehru Eighteen months in India.

have been insisting on separate electorates and the Congress have all along been yielding to the Muslim claims. This is clearly indicated in their approval of the Communal Award and of the Government of India's decision for distributing Public services on communal basis. So long as the Communal Constitution continues, the Hindus have no duty other than to safeguard at all costs the Hindu interests and rights. For the Muslims communalism is a blessing and is unavoidable, as the Punjabi in 'Confederacy of India' admits.

"The natural relationship between the Hindus and Muslims is communal and not national. Communalism is in their blood. Their common past so far as communalism is concerned dark and no whitewashing on the part of the sincere nationalists can falsify history."

But for Pandit Nehru Muslim League is a political organization, when he says.

"I agree with him (Mr. Jinnah) that the Muslim League is a political organization & often acts on the political plane."*

Even if we accept for argument's sake, that the Hindu Mahasabha is Communal, it is bound to be so, so long as the Muslim Commu-

* Jawahar Lal Nehru, Recent Essays & writings.

nalism predominates. None can establish that if the Hindus are communalists in politics, they cease to form a nation as such. Were the socalled Hindu communalists found in existence when there were no Mohammadans in India : I must say that the Hindus may very well be called Communalists of the rankest type if through their socalled communalism they are to defend their existence. I shall surely welcome communalism and shall make no bones, if it can save the Hindus from self-effacement by doing so. When a Hindu mother gives birth to a child, and brings him up with all the pains she can bestow upon it, she does not expect that her child, when come of age will not love her most on the plea that there are the mothers of the neighbours too. If Communalism can save us it is not an evil.

Sir A. K. Shanmukham Chetty says,

" It might, however, be asked why we should think and talk in terms of the community as a unit. The answer to this question lies in the peculiar social structure of India which has existed from times immemorial. To ignore this tendency is to ignore the Indian History. The Communal problem therefore is a problem of the Indian History, and not a problem created

by reactionary politicians or self-seeker individuals."

The Late R. B. Lal Chand in 'Self-abnegation in Politics' observes.

"Patriotism ought to be communal and not merely geographical. Although patriotism has come to be understood as meaning love for one's country, the origin of the word implies as much communal love as geographical. In fact, it appears to me the original idea was that of common descent as basis for the ideal and as community settled in different tracts, the tract absorbed their love and gave rise to the secondary sense. But at any rate the word is not necessarily confined to mean love for the country apart from the interests of the community to which the individual belongs. The ideal, the predominant factor, ought to be communal rather than geographical interest. Cases of this wider significance are not wanting and occur frequently. What are foreign wars and acquisitions of foreign countries, whether for Government or for trade purposes? The object in view in such cases is evidently to benefit the community. The English Doctor who treated Emperor Feroze Shah and in return for his services asked for trade privileges for his people and thereby laid the foundation of the British Rule in India, was surely a patriot in the very best of its senses. The uppermost idea which I imagine influenced his mind was to

benefit his own people and when we say he benefitted his country, we use the term in a metaphorical sense. This is the idea which I wish to implant for the idea sown in its place by the Congress."

We Hindus should be definite that we are to live as Masters in our country-our sacred land Hindusthan. We should keep this ideal before our struggle for existence. We may be a community or a nation, but we must try to achieve our goal. Let us disown the defeatist mentality of shunning to be communalists. Herein lies the great difference. Veer Savarkar in the course of his presidential address at Nagpur, observes.

"Get looted but don't report, get stabbed but don't shriek, get repressed as Hindus but don't organize to resist it as Hindus ; or else you will be denounced traitors to the cause of our Indian Nationalism. This is the present policy of the Congress."

The Indian Nationalism has failed for the simple reason that the Muslims refuse to be 'Indian'. Let us face this fact squarely. Let us take a lesson from the success of the Muslim policy. Let us redefine our goal. Let the Indian Independence mean as it should mean, the

Hindu Independence and the Indian Nationalism as the Hindu Nationalism.

Writes Bhai Parmanand,

“It is tragedy that the Indian National Congress
should have killed Nationalism in India.”

VII

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY

Oh, East is East, and West is West and never
the twain shall meet,

Till Earth and sky stand on God's great
judgement seat.

Next comes another most important difference between the two ideologies which concern the theory of the Hindu-Muslim Unity. The Congress has been believing especially since the day it came under the dictatorship of Mr. Gandhi, that the Hindu-Muslim unity is a condition precedent for Swaraj. This has now become the pivotal point of the political philosophy of the Congress. This one hypothesis has done more harm to India than the foreign rule itself. Foreign rule is of course bad, disgraceful and unbecoming for any living nation, but to tell a great Nation like that of Hindus numbering over more than 350 millions which has a magnificent history to its credit—a history comprising the achievement of the Rajputs from Bapa Rawal to Maharaj Raj Singh, of

the Mahrattas from Shivaji to Bhau Sahib, and of the Dogras and the khattries from Bir Bairgi to Hari Singh Nalwa that the Hindus cannot achieve Swaraj without the help and cooperation of the Muslim is the greatest obstacle in the path of India's freedom.

Let us imagine the representatives of all the living nations assembled together in one conference. A German representative gets up and says.

"We, a nation of 90 millions would not only undo the wrongs of the Treaty of Versailles but would dominate the whole of Europe and would efface the power of the British.

The British representative replies,

"That we, a nation of 70 millions shall maintain our power and control an area of the earth where the sun of our domination never sets "

A Japanese representative boasts

"That the Japanese a nation of 50 millions would have a new order in Asia".

Similar affirmations and declarations of supremacy and self-confidence are made by the representatives of the various other nations of the world the numerical strength of

which does not exceed 100 millions. Now gets up a Muslim of India and declares

“That the 80 millions Muslims of India will establish the rule of Islam in the Hindusthan, nay in the whole world”.

In the end emerges the great Gandhi, the sole representative of India, with a book on non-violence in hand and supported from three sides by Jawahar, Patel and Rajagopalachariar and declares,

“We shall never get freedom for our land from the British unless and until the Muslim minority joins us. We, a nation of 350 millions are impotent without 70 millions of the Muslims.”

What a great hero representing the Hindus of India !!

By one stroke of pen a nation of 350 millions has been reduced to cowards which even the struggle of thousands of years with the alien yoke failed to do. This theory of the Congress has made the attainment of Swaraj impossible. The Congress, when it laid the cards on the table, forgot the consequences of the policy of ‘divide and rule’ pursued by the

power dominating us, a representative of which, Leonard Schiff, says :—

“Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the separation which exists between the different religions and not to endeavour to amalgamate them.”

It is true that the Hindu-Muslim unity, provided it is based on the community of true aims and ideals, would greatly enhance the quickes attainment of Swarajya, but an attempt to bring about this unity by artificial means is sure to defeat its own end. As soon as the Congress proclaim that by the help of this unity it will make its campaign against the Government successful, it at once supplies a handle to the Government for putting every obstacle in the way of that unity. The policy of creating a division for their own stability has been followed by all Governments since the creation. The greater the stress we lay on this fiction of a unity, the greater will be the endeavour on the part of the British Government to checkmate it. The fallacy of this theory of the Hindu-Muslim Unity becomes evident from another point of view which is very often propounded by our Congress friends. Whenever and wherever they come across instances

of communal tension, the Congress people would at once say,

“All this is due to the interference of the third party.”

So long as the British domination remains to divide us, there are no chances of Hindu-Muslim unity. How forcibly Gandhiji put forward his views during his speech at the Round Table Conference.

“I repeat what I have said elsewhere, that so long as the wedge in the shape of foreign rule divides community from community and class from class, there will be no real living solution, there will be no living friendship between these communities.”

Very recently Gandhi ji wrote in the “Harijan.”

“Hindus and Muslims and for that matter all seemingly conflicting or disgruntled interests and elements will look to it. (the third party) for support and get it. Their interest is greater than the independence of their country.”

This observation only means that as long as the ‘third party’ is there there can be no unity between the discordant elements. This would seem to come into conflict with his oft repeated

belief that 'there is no independence without unity'. A vicious circle is thus created; the argument being, Indians cannot be independent until they are united and they cannot be united until they are independent. It evidently comes to, that all the attempts of the Indian National Congress for attaining freedom result in nothing. Alas, they deceive the people and they deceive themselves.

The position of the Congress becomes further clear from the writings of this most eminent leader of the Indian National Congress:

"Q. Oh ! is this so ? Without the Hindu-Muslim Unity, you think there is no Swaraj and without the Hindu-Muslim Unity there is no Satyagraha ? So there is to be no Swaraj for ever ?

Mr. Gandhi.—Why ? don't think I am unbeliever in Hindu-Muslim unity like you.

Q. I would put the question differently. Suppose Swaraj was possible without Hindu-Muslim unity, would you reject it ?

Mr. Gandhi.—Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity is a contradiction in terms."*

Mr. Gandhi cannot even entertain the idea of Swaraj without the Hindu-Muslim

* "Harijan", March 2, 1940.

unity !! He himself admits as he said very recently.

"Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British Government to safeguard the Muslim rights. Anything that the Congress can do or concede will not satisfy him, for he can always and naturally from his stand-point ask for more than the British can give or guarantee. There can be no limit to the Muslim demands."

Of course we cannot argue with persons like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar who once reported to have observed,

"I care not, though all the Hindus become Muslims if Swaraj is to be won."

Mr. Gandhi admits that there cannot be any limit to the Muslim demands but he forgets consciously or unconsciously that this queer attitude of the Muslim community is due to his weakness for them and his dissimilation of the theory that there can be no Swaraj without the Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. Gandhi has attached so much importance to the co-operation of the Muslim community and at the same time bewails that there is no limit to their demands. These are not his recent views. Early, in 1924, Mr. Gandhi said at Belgaum,

"I would go so far as to say that.... so long as Hindu-Muslim unity is not effected, Swaraj would be impossible of attainment."

This attitude of Mr. Gandhi, the dictator of the Congress has got a history of its own, which he only had recently i. e. in August 1942, revealed while addressing the All-India Congress Committee before he courted his arrest.

"There was a time when every Muslim was professing that India was his motherland. The Ali Brothers believed in it. I am not prepared to believe for a moment that it was a lie or bluff. I would prefer to be ignorant rather than to doubt my colleagues. Thousands of Hindus and muslims have told me, that if the Congress is really serious to solve the communal tangle and establish permanent unity it can be achieved during my life time only. From the very childhood of mine, I am a firm believer in the Hindu-Muslim and communal unity. From my very school-days I have a firm conviction in the unity of India. When I have been to Africa I undertook the brief for a Muslim client. I championed their cause there. I never distrust them. I never returned from Africa disappointed or a defeated man. I do not care for the abuses which are being hurled on me by some of my muslim friends. I do not know what I have done that has offended them I dine with the muslims."*

* Hindustan Times, August, 9, 1942.

The Hindu-Muslim unity is a condition precedent for the attainment of Swaraj, not on the plea that when there was no Hindu-Muslim unity Swaraj was not established or if the Hindu-Muslim unity is secured, that alone will drive out the British. History tells a different tale. The Mahrattas, the followers of Shivaaji, established Hindu Swaraj in India and gave a death-blow to the Moghal Empire. The rise of the Christian power in India stands on the coffin of the Hindu Empire. The students of the Indian History know as Mr. Ranade in his book 'Rise and growth of Mahrattas' proved, that it is from the Mahrattas that the British got the supreme power in India. The Moghal Empire was not only tottering but had also actually vanished. The Hindus conquered India but they could not consolidate their conquest.

In 1857, there was Hindu-Muslim unity. Even the High Command of the war of Independence, commonly called Mutiny of 1857, declared Bahadur Shah the last of the Moghals to be the Ruler. But there was defeat and not victory. Everything was over within 9 months. In 1921 to 23 there was an ideal Hindu Muslim unity in India. Perhaps

never in the history of the Congress, the Hindus and Muslims were ever united to such an extent. Did they turn out the British ? Did they establish the Afghan Rule ? No, the Congress and Khilafatists both were humbled inspite of sending thousands to court imprisonment.

We believe that our struggle for independence has nothing to do with the Hindu-Muslim unity. If the Hindus would be strong, they could get Swaraj without the help of the Muslims and if they remain weak, disunited and disrupted, freedom cannot be won. The histories of the countries of Europe tell us that it is only a few in every nation that fight for freedom. Reactionaries like the muslims have been found in every nation and country, but the freedom-movement and the attainment of liberty could not be impeded by these reactionaries. The Hindus should always remember that it is only a few thousands of the 300 millions of the Hindus that have been fighting for freedom. The majority of the Hindus have not joined them. The Muslims have stood out and have clamoured for their loaves and fishes. If the national movement

has made any headway it is because of the selfless fight of a few thousands of Hindus. Why then is the Congress fond anxious to bring about the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity? None can deny that the Hindus were once the masters of this land. Chandra Gupta and Ashoka ruled and the Hindudom was supreme. Why did we fall? Why did we fall an easy prey to the foreign invaders, the Slaves, the Lodhis, the Tuglaks, the Moghals and the English? It is only because there entered some weakness in our body politic and in our social system. Some Historians go to the extent of saying that because we could not create a nation, we had therefore the fall.

“There is, then, no Indian Nationality, though there are some germs out of which we can conceive an Indian Nationality developing itself. It is this fact, and not some enormous superiority on the part of the English race, that makes our Empire in India possible,”

Writes Sir John Seeley in his book. ‘The Expansion of England.’ Sir Valentine Chirol accordingly questions,

“How is it that with its marvellous endurance as a social system Hindusthan failed to build up an Indian nation during the two

millenniums and more when India possessed complete Swaraj' if by Swaraj is meant absolute immunity from every form of pressure, moral or material?"

The late L. Hardayal writes.

"To attain Swaraj, we do not need the Muslim assistance, nor it is our desire to establish a Joint Rule. Don't look towards the Non-Hindu quarters. If you attain Swaraj with the Muslim help, eternal will be your dependency on the Muslims. Leave them, therefore, all alone."*

The Hindu Mahasabha's position on the question of the Hindu Muslim unity, according to Veer Savarkar, is,

"If you come, with you; if you do not, without you; and if you oppose, in spite of you, the Hindus will continue to fight for the national freedom as best as they can".**

The real mischief lies in our lingering on after the illusion of the Hindu-Muslim unity. To day we have made the Mohammdans understand that Independence cannot be achieved unless they oblige us and made a common cause with us. The moment we declared this we were doomed. They would only sell their co-operation to the highest bidder and actually

*Translated from Mere Vichar in Hindi by L. Hardayal.

**Presidential address Ahmedabad Session Hindu Mahasabha.

they did so. An interesting incident has been related to us by an eminent Indian leader. In England during the session of the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi approached Sir Agha Khan and offered him the 'Blank Cheque' praying for unity. All the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah were accepted. Sir Agha Khan immediately saw an important British official and told him that Mr. Gandhi had offered him the Blank Cheque. "Well you have the 'blank cheque' post dated and on a liquidated bank" was the retort from the Britisher. But H. H. the Agha Khan, like every other Muslim in India, knew full well the name of the bank which could be safely relied upon for encashment—it was the British bank, the bank of the British Power.

The condition of Mr. Gandhi was that the Congress was prepared to accept all the demands—fair or unfair of the Muslim Community on the condition that the Muslims should join hands with the Congress to carry on the movement of Civil Disobedience and to turn the British out. Then all the terms of the Blank cheque should be conceded. What a simpleton was this great Leader, the sole

representative of India! He expected the Muslims to join the Hindus in fighting the British and especially expecting men like Sir Agha Khan to join the movement! They knew the easiest way of satisfying their demands. The Anglo-Muslim alliance was the result. They got all their demands accepted in that great auction without fighting by the side of Mr. Gandhi. Then came the Communal Award and the fate of the Hindus was sealed.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Presidential address at the Ramgarh Session of the Indian National Congress said.

“The minorities should judge for themselves what safeguards are necessary for the protection of their rights and interests. The majority should not decide this. Therefore, the decision in this respect must depend upon the consent of the minorities and not on a majority vote.”

Maulana Azad advises us to look upon the Muslims for our emancipation. Gandhiji is directly responsible for this policy of placating the Muslims at the cost of the fundamental principles of the Congress. In his letter to Mr. Jinnah dated the 24th August 1938, Gandhiji writes.

"So far as I am concerned just as on the Hindu-Muslim question I was guided by Mr. Ansari and now that he is no more in our midst I have accepted Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as my guide."

Mr. Azad's position is that we must ask the Muslims the minority community to tell us as to what they demand. To take up this position after the Communal Award is most tragic and exactly confirms the fears of the Hindus regarding Maulana Azad that he always plays a double game. Mr. Gandhi is to be guided by Mr. Azad and that acceptance of Maulana's advice is to seal the fate of the Hindus for good. Very recently Mr. Maulana Azad, the Congress President evolved a plan for appointing a panel of five Congressmen to talk things over with an equal number of the Muslim League representatives when and if the League showed an inclination to reach an understanding with the Congress. The suggestion at once gets the endorsement of Mr. Gandhi saying,

"I have always felt that there is something radically wrong with both parties, in that the most obvious thing, namely, the coming together of wisemen of both, with a will to find a solution of the deadlock has not happened".

As if never before this the so-called wisemen of the Congress and the Muslim League met!

The Hindu-Muslim unity is at least for sometime an absolute impossibility. The unity based upon opportunism is like a mirage which recedes further and further, the moment you really seek to approach it. Or, the attempt to secure the Hindu-Muslim unity is like a poor man's worshipping the Goddess Lakshmi, and never getting her favour with all the devotion he can command and ever remaining poor and naked! It appears to be merely a dream existing in the brains of the Congress idealists, and the gulf of differences that divides the Muslims from the Hindus has never been so wide as it is today. The reason is not far to seek. All our attempts at enlisting the Muslim cooperation for a common end have simply been instrumental in sharpening their appetite for greater amount of loaves and fishes. The more the Congress have tried to bring them closer to us, the farther have they receded from us.

The late L. Lajpat Rai wrote a long letter to Mr. C. R. Das from Jail before he

presided at the Congress session held at Gaya.
The letter reads as follows:—

“There is one point more which of late has been troubling me very much and on which I want you to think carefully; and that is the question of the Hindu-Mohamadan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law, and I am inclined to think, it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of the Mohamadan leaders in the non-cooperation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind. You remember the conversation (I reported to you in Calcutta) which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Mohamadan in India than Hakim Sahib, but can he or any other Muslim leader override the Quran? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic Law is incorrect, and nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right, then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British, we cannot do so to rule India on democratic lines. What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of seven crores of muslims but I think the seven crores in India plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible. I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of the Hindu Muslim Unity; I am also prepared to trust

the Muslim leaders, but what about the injunctions of the Quran and Hadis. The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope not. I hope your learned minds and wise heads will find some way out of this difficulty."**

The learned head of Mr. C. R. Dass could only find out a way of offering 85% services to the Muslims in Bengal and a free hand to kill the cows and that the Punjab should be effaced from the map of India.

Let us review the stages of the Congress attempts to placate the Muslims and their response in frustrating them :—

(i) With the passage of the Indian Councils Act in 1892, the principle of separate representation of the Muslims even in the nomination of members to Legislatures was at the instance of Lord Dufferin and owing to Sir Syed Ahmad's campaign asking the Muslims not to join the Congress, embodied in the Directions issued to those charged with the framing of regulations. Sir Syed's two speeches one at Lucknow delivered on 28-12-1887 and the other delivered at Meerut on 16-3-1888, which M. Mohd Ali as Congress President styled "historic", were responsible for this favour, shown by the British Government to the Muslims.

In 1909 a deputation of the leading Muslims, staged a command performance by waiting on Lord Minto and demanding separate representation.

* Quoted by Bhai Parmanand in the Hindu National movement

Under the Act the Moslems were given (1) the right to elect their representatives (2) the right to elect their representatives by separate electorates, (3) the right to vote in the general electorates as well and (4) the right to weightage in representations.

The Congress agreed to separate representation at this stage. "The demands of the Muslim deputation, if they were granted by the British, were assented to by the Hindus (By the Hindu I mean the Congress) prominent amongst whom was Mr. Gokhle.*

(2) At the Karachi Congress of 1913, a resolution was passed that leaders of different communities would make every endeavour to find out a *modus operandi* for joint and cemented action on all questions of national good. The attitude of the Muslim League was welcomed. Mr. M. A. Jinnah then was the leader of the Indian National Congress. Early in 1913, the Congress expressed its desire to be influenced by the clever move of the Muslim League.

(3) In 1916, came the Lucknow pact, communal representations in Legislatures agreeable to Muslims were adopted in the Pact. It embodied these vicious principles :—

- (a) Excessive weightage to one community.
- (b) Communal Representation.
- (c) Separate Electorates.

The following order with respect to the Special electorates in the Provincial Legislatures was agreed upon by the Congress and accepted by the Muslim League.

* Thoughts on Pakistan by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Brackets mine)

The Punjab ... One half of the Elected
Members.

U. P.	...	30%	do	do
Bengal	...	40%	do	do
Bihar & Orissa	...	25%	do	do
C. P.	...	15%	do	do
Madras	...	15%	do	do
Bombay	...	33 1/3%	do	do

So far as its important items were concerned the Lucknow Pact was not even accepted by Montagu Chelmsford Report, but as the Congress agreed to it the Government did not reject it and embodied it in the Act of 1919.

In 1920, the 32nd session of the Congress affirmed the Congress League Scheme of Reforms.

In the period between 1921 and 1923, India of course witnessed the Hindus and the Muslims united, not owing to the Lucknow Pact or as a result of a zeal for patriotism, but only because the Muslims wanted the Hindu-cooperation in their agitation for the 'Khilafat' movement which had nothing to do with the Indian struggle for freedom. We must however understand the significance of the Hindu-Muslim unity during the period of the much advertised for success of Gandhiji's mission. Swami Shraddhanand drew the true picture in his paper the Liberator of April 22, 1926, saying :—

"On sitting on the dias (Lucknow Congress Platform) the first thing I noticed, was that the number of the moslem delegates was proportionately four-fold of what it was at Lahore in 1893. The majority of the moslem delegates had donned gold,

silver and silk embroidered 'chogas' over their ordinary coarse suits of wearing apparel. It was rumoured that these chogas had been put by the Hindu moneyed men for the Congress *tamasha*. Of some 433 moslem delegates only some 30 had come from outside and the rest belonging to Lucknow city. And of these the majority was admitted free to delegates' seats, board and lodging.

"A show was being made of the Moslem delegates. A moslem delegate gets up to second a resolution in Urdu. He begins, 'Hazrat, I am a Mohammadan delegate.' Some Hindu delegate gets up and calls for three cheers for the Mohammadan delegates and the response is so enthusiastic as to be beyond description."

Still immediately after the Anglo-Afghan treaty the Muslims came out in their true colours and followed the policy of 'Heads I win and tails you lose'. Even these days the Indian National Congress in its special session held in September 1923 at Delhi under the Presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad passed a resolution reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the Muslim League.

(4) After the Kohat tragedy in 1924, Maulana Mohammad Ali, the Congress President in cooperation with Swami Shradhanand convened a unity Conference in Delhi—the Liberals, the Muslim Leaguers, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress participated in it. But in vain.

(5) Prof. Abdul Majid Khan writes under the caption "Gandhiji and Hindu-Muslim Unity" on Oct. 2, 1942, in the Tribune, Lahore.

"It was only a personality of Gandhiji's farsighted wisdom and transparent sincerity, which could declare in 1924, that the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity be referred for final solution to the late Hakim Ajmal Khan alone and that his decision should be binding on both Hindus and Muslims".

Another conference of all the Parties was organized at Bombay in November 1924. After long discussion a committee was appointed with Mr. Gandhi as Chairman and Mr. Moti Lal Nehru as the Secretary to consider in detail how the inter-communal harmony could be brought about. This Committee met again on the 23rd January 1925, at Delhi. Mr. Gandhi presided. A representative sub-committee consisting of 40 members to frame recommendations was appointed. The sub-Committee met at Delhi on the 1st March and adjourned *sine die* without coming to any conclusion. Mr. Gandhi and Pt. Motilal Nehru in a statement to the press declared, ".....In our opinion there was more over no material for coming to any definite conclusions nor is there likelihood of any being reached in the near future".*

The Congress still wanted to reconcile the Muslims at all costs.

(6) In 1927, the Congress Session allowed the lion's share to the Minorities only as a result of reciprocal concessions by mutual agreement. The demands now were the Muslim rights of killing cows and the stopping of the music before mosques.

* Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Thoughts on Pakistan.

Long before that, in 1909, the Muslims took the bold step of suggesting that the depressed classes should not be enrolled in the census as Hindus. In 1923 Maulana Mohd. Ali in his address, as President of the Congress, went much beyond the position taken by the Muslims in 1909. He said,

"It has been suggested to me by an influential and wealthy gentleman who is able to organize a Missionary Society on a large scale for the conversion of the suppressed classes, that it should be possible to reach a settlement with leading Hindu gentlemen and divide the country into separate areas where Hindu and Muslim missionaries could respectively work, each community preparing for each year, or longer unit of time, if necessary, an estimate of the members it is prepared to absorb or convert."*

When Maulana Mohd. Ali suggested this Gandhiji was all in all of the Congress, and it must have been said with his consent.

Again a unity conference was organized which was known as the Simla Unity Conference. It met on the 30th August, 1927. It appointed a Unity Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah. No conclusions were reached.

After the failure of the Simla Conference Mr. Srinivas Iyengar the then President of the Indian National Congress, called a special Conference of the Hindus and the Muslims which met in Calcutta in October 1927. This Conference was called the Calcutta Unity Conference.

* "In Thoughts on Pakestan" by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

(7) In 1927 the appointment of the Simon Commission was announced by the British Government. Immediately the Muslims came forward with further political demands in what is known as Jinnah's 14 points. The Simon Commission rejected them but on Feb. 12; 1928, another All Parties' Convention was held and appointed a committee which brought about the Nehru Report. This was placed at the All Parties Convention in Calcutta on 22nd Oct. 1928. It was a step further. They gave the Muslims 'Valuable additional rights'. No weightage was allowed to the Hindus and other Minorities. The right of contesting additional seats beyond those warranted by their fixed proportion to the population was granted.

The All parties' conference report says. "Our recommendations are more favourable to the Muslims than the Madras Resolution."

The Muslims went back on the Nehru Report and soon after it was drowned in the waters of the Ravi in 1929.

Then came the suicidal policy that the 'Congress would of its own accord suggest only a National solution of the problem, but it would accept any agreed solution.*

The Muslims now according to Jinnah's 14 points wanted reservation of seats for the Muslim majorities, which Muslims agreed in accordance with the terms of the Nehru Report not to demand. Another demand was a balance of the Provinces in the country by creation of the Muslim Provinces—Sind, Baluchistan, and N. W. F. P. besides the weightage for the Muslims in 6 provinces which they

* Lahore Congress Resolution 1929.

had already secured. The Muslims wanted also one third representation in the Cabinets both Central and Provincial, adequate representation in services and vesting of the residuary powers in the provinces and not in the Central Government.

Most of the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah and other new demands were accepted in the Communal Award by the British Government when it was asked to arbitrate in 1932. The responsibility for the Communal Award falls upon Mr. Gandhi. He was asked by the British Prime Minister first to bring about an agreed solution and Mr. Gandhi accepted these 14 points in toto and offered the well-known 'Blank Cheque'. Still Mr. Gandhi could not achieve the Hindu-Muslim Unity and returned home with the 'Award' a death knell for the Hindus of the Hindusthan. The Anglo-Muslim Alliance came into being.

Gandhi Ji and the Congress instantly accepted the Award, as is clear from a statement of Mr. Gandhi given in November 1939.

"I asked the Congress to accept it (Communal Award) and the Congress accepted it."

The acceptance was once temporarily camouflaged under 'Neither accept nor reject' policy. It was a very benevolent neutrality because in the Central Legislature, Congressmen did not oppose Jinnah's resolution of acceptance of the Award. The Congress proved before the world that the voice of the Indian Legislature was in favour of the Communal Award. No greater treachery could be done to the Hindus who foolishly returned the Congress representatives to the Legislatures. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar explains the Congress attitude towards the Communal Award thus.

"There was bitterness amongst the Hindus against the Communal Award. But the Congress did not take part in the hostility that was displayed by the Hindus generally towards it although it did retain the right to describe it as anti-national and to get it changed with the consent of Muslims. So careful was the Congress not to wound the feelings of the Muslims that when the Resolution was moved in the Central Assembly condemning the Communal Award, the Congress, though it did not bless it, remained neutral neither opposing nor supporting it. The Mohammadans were well justified in looking upon this Congress attitude as a friendly gesture."*

Mr. Gandhi, on his return from England, felt insulted, humbled and disgraced, but still his love for the Hindu-Muslim Unity remained unshattered. He kept his fast unto death against the decision regarding the depressed classes. The result was a further division in the Punjab and Bengal, where no separate representation was given to them so far. The dictation of Dr. Ambedkar was accepted. This act of Gandhi threw the Communal Award, the most dangerous document, in the back ground.

(8) Not satisfied with the Communal Award, again a cry for further Muslim Demands was raised although men like H. H. the Agha Khan, on return from the Round Table Conference told the Muslims that they had succeeded in all that they had wanted in the constitution. Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, now comes to the front. He organizes another Hindu-

* Thoughts on Pakistan.

Muslim Unity Conference at Allahabad. Besides the representatives of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, Bhai Parmanand ji attended the Conference. Addressing the Conference, he said,

“The Conference could serve no purpose, if the setting aside of Communal Decision was not made the primary condition and basis for further negotiations.”

None listened to him. He left Allahabad disappointed. The Muslims wanted more. The Conference went on for two months and ended in a fiasco. Its result was ‘White Paper’. The Conference suggested separation of Sind with reservations, but the British Government announced the Separation of Sind without reservations. The Conference wanted the Muslim representation at the centre and was content with 32% while the White Paper gave them 34%.

Thus the Congress attempt to turn the British out by the Hindu-Muslim Unity resulted in the Anglo-Muslim alliance and reduced the great majority of the Hindus to a helpless minority. For these incalculable yeomen services the Hindus must heartily thank the Congress...the Saviour of the Hindus, or the Indian Nation.

Inspite of failures and humiliations Mr. Gandhi again followed the mirage. He forgot.

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शम्यति ।

हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्धते ॥

“Kama increases like fire every time it is appeased by feeding.”

(9) Some could have thought that the limit of the Muslim demands was reached and that the 1932 settlement was a final settlement. But the Muslims were not satisfied. A further list of the Muslim demands came forth. Controversy over these went on in the year 1938 between the Congress and the Muslim League. Mr. Gandhi went twice to the residence of Mr. Jinnah. Now the Muslim League assumed the role of a dictator. Its demands 'inter alia' in 1938 were :—

- (1) 14 points of 1929, in the Government with residual powers.
- (2) Statutorily fixed share in services.
- (3) Protection for personal Law and culture. Shahidganj Mosque, freedom of religious practices, protection of the right to slaughter cows.
- (4) "Bande Mataram" to be given up. The Tricolour flag to be given up or the Muslim League Flag to be accepted as equal with the Tricolour.
- (5) The Muslim League to be recognised as the only representative organization of the Muslims in India.
- (6) Coalition Ministries in the Provinces.

These demands were tantamount to asking the Hindus to give up their national character and their objectives of nationhood and democracy. Thus a minority community of nine crores of the Muslims assumed the role of a dictator to the majority community of thirty five crores of the Hindus and began virtually to lord it over, Was it the fault of the Muslims or of the Congress leaders ?

(10) In 1939, their demands even went further. Fifty percent for the Muslims in Legislatures and Services was the cry. Acceptance of Urdu as the National Language was a condition precedent.

(11) In 1940 the stage was reached when the cry of Pakistan was vociferously bruited abroad.

To recapitulate, in 1930 Bhai Parmanandji presided over the Hindu Conference held at Sukkur and during the course of his Presidential speech he said, "The dream of the Muslims is to establish a Moslem State in India."

Pt. Motilal Nehru criticised Bhaiji's speech and said that Bhai Parmanand had gone mad. Exactly after 7 days, Sir Mohd. Iqbal declared at Lucknow, "The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India is perfectly justified—I would like to see the Punjab, N. W. F. P., Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. The formation of consolidated N. W. India Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least, of North West India."

If Panditji had lived now, he would have seen as to where the madness lay. In 1933, the Pakistan movement was taken up by Mr. Rahmat Ali.

The last blow came in 1941, when as a sort of super-race they demanded the right to rule India. In the terms offered to Lord Linlithgow, they demanded :—

- (a) Fifty per cent in the Government of India, if the Congress came in or a majority, if the Congress did not.
- (b) No more changes in the Government of India unless the Muslims agree.

Still the Great Mahatma feels that "Sir Stafford Cripps could have asked the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet." "If he had done so" continues the Mahatma, "probably the party entrusted with responsibility would have succeeded in having the co-operation of the other party." And the other party—the Muslim League wanted from Sir Stafford Cripps the right of self determination, Pakistan and nothing else. In May, 1942, Gandhiji says that his observation that "nothing can prevent the Muslims from having what they want unless the objectors would fight over the issue" only amounts to "the enunciation of the proposition that he cannot prevent any neighbour from committing a sin."

How could he, the great apostle of non-violence, or his followers, the Hindus?

Now let us also study the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims during the period when Congress was attempting at various stages to bring about the Hindu-Muslim Unity, especially after Mr. Gandhi had set his heart and soul to achieve his desired ideal. Placed side by side with the frantic efforts, the result is very tragic and proves beyond doubt

as to the futility of Mr. Gandhi's move and that the blood of those who suffered and were killed, was on the shoulders of Mr. Gandhi.

From Mopla rebellion in Malabar where massacres, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages, upon women such as ripping open pregnant women, pillage, arson and destruction were perpetrated freely by the Moplas upon the Hindus in 1920 ; Kohat outrages in 1924 when about 200 were killed and wounded, property worth lacs was destroyed and looted and the whole city was evacuated by the Hindus. Sukkar riots in 1939-40 repeated the Malabar atrocities and of Dacca and Ahmedabad in 1940-41 when thousands of Hindus fled from their town to save their lives and a large number of persons were killed and wounded, was the response of the Congress attempts at unification.

The Congress could not even condemn all what had happened there. Mr. Gandhi spoke of the Moplas as the "brave God-fearing Moplas who were fighting for what they consider as religious and in a manner which they consider as religious." The Congress resolution passed

by the Working Committee on the Mopla atrocities based upon the enquiry report says that there were only three cases of forcible conversions, while the Government's findings as Sir William Vincent replied in the Central Legislature on January 16, 1922, to a question, was "that the number of forcible conversions probably runs to thousands."

The Kohat tragedy was compensated by Mr. Gandhi's fast as he repented upon the lead given by him to the Hindus. The Sukker riots made Mr. Gandhi advise the Hindus of Sind to quit the Province.

The details of the riots would require volumes but let us have a glance over the important riots that took place in India during the last 2 decades :—

- 1920—21 Malabar.
- 1921—22 The Punjab & Bengal.
- 1924—25 Kohat & 12 more riots in India.
- 1925—26 The United Provinces, Bombay Presidency & 5 more riots in India.
- 1926—27 Delhi, the Punjab, Bengal, the United Provinces & Sind.
- 1927—28 25 riots in India from April to September only.
- 1928—29 22 Riots in India.

1929—30 12 Riots in India.

1930—31 "Innumerable Communal disturbances mostly due to Muslim opposition to the civil disobedience Movement started by the Congress. All important towns in almost all Provinces in India were effected.

1931—32 Cawnpore was the chief centre of riots resulting in four to five hundred deaths.

1932—33 was relatively free from disturbances.

1933—34 Benares, Cawnpore, Lahore, Peshawar, Ajodhya, Bhagalpur, Cannanore (Madras), Ghazipur Distt, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, Sind, Madras, Delhi and Agra were the centre of riots.

1934—35 Lahore, Karachi, Secunderabad were centres of disturbances.

1936— Firozabad, Agra, Poona, Jamalpur in Monghyr Distt and Bombay were involved.

1937— Panipat, Madras, and various places in Sind and Punjab were centres of riots.

1938— Only two riots took place one at Allahabad and the other in Bombay.

1939— There were six riots in Asansol, Cawnpore, Benares, Cossipore (Calcutta) and Sukkur.

1940—41 Most important riots at Dacca and Ahmedabad,

The Congress following the Hindu-Muslim Unity theory as the only way for getting freedom destroyed the very Nationalism. It reduced the Hindus to serfdom and the Anglo-Muslim combination was to rule over India and to keep the Hindus in bondage. The Muslim League succeeded, where the Moghals failed. Thanks to Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi and the Congress have tried all their cowardly methods for over 20 years but have failed to placate the Muslims. Mr. Gandhi has even accepted their demand of Pakistan virtually by the statements quoted elsewhere from the 'Harijan'. He has gone a step further and has agreed to place the Hindusthan at the feet of the Great Nizam (vide his statement dated October 13, 1940, in the Harijan). Will Mr. Gandhi ever realize his objective of the Hindu-Muslim Unity, even by building the castle of Swarajya over the ashes of the Hindus ? It is doubtful. Students of History know that such an attempt was made once in the days of Akbar the Great when the Rajputs of Rajasthan offered their daughters and sisters to the Moghal Rulers. Akbar, married the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Dass, the sister of Man Singh. It was only

done, as was personally explained by Man Singh to Maharana Pratap at Udaipur to save the honour of the Hindus and to achieve the Hindu-Muslim Unity. Pratap, the Great hero resisted it, and refused to dine with Man Singh and this insult done to him resulted in the battle of Haldighati. The attempts to secure the Hindu-Muslim Unity by offering the Hindu daughters failed. The Congress has of course not gone officially to that extent.

"It seems to me," remarks the Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his book, "Thoughts on Pakistan", "that the Congress has failed to realise two things. The first thing which the Congress has failed to realise is the fact that there is a difference between appeasement and settlement and that the difference is an essential one. Appeasement means to offer to buy off the aggressor by conniving at or collaborating with him in the rape, murder and arson on the innocent Hindus who happen for the moment to be the victims of his displeasure. On the other hand settlement means laying down the bounds which neither party to it can transgress. Appeasement sets no limits to the demands and aspirations of the aggressor. Settlement does. The second thing the Congress has failed to realize is that the policy of concession has increased their aggressiveness and what is

worse the Muslims interpret these concessions as a sign of defeatism on the part of the Hindus and the absence of will to resist. This policy of appeasement will involve the Hindus in the same fearful situation in which the Allies found themselves as a result of the policy of appeasement which they adopted towards Hitler."

Rai Bahadur Lal Chand wrote in 1909 in his book "Self Abnegation in Politics".

"I believe the unifications would very well and easily be expedited, if the Hindus were one morning to embrace Islam in a body; or if that were to prove too much a strain for Mr. Gokhle and his society (the then leaders of Congress) then if they were to retire altogether from the arena of public life, leaving the field to other communities and themselves taking to pursuits, such as hewing wood and carrying water. I am not sure, whether this even will be to be held most satisfactory. But it will at least lead to unification by a process of elimination. Both in theory and in practice the Hindus have already been reduced to a position as if they formed 50 percent of the population. They will soon be reduced to a position of one-third as another community of one kith and creed with the Rulers is rapidly rising. Where we shall be in the end in this process or self-abnegation under a desire to form a united nation, it is not very difficult to imagine."*

* Brackets mine.

The Muslim view point on the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity is a most important one to be taken into consideration. The Punjabi in the 'Confederacy of India' writes.

"The Muslims must understand once for all that there cannot be any lasting pact between them and the Hindus. A pact with the Congress alone would be meaningless. While a pact with the Mahasabha is quite unthinkable, for its ideal prevents it from concluding a pact with people who stand for another culture quite opposed to its own. Here we may also warn the Muslims against the futility of arriving at any pact with the Congress. All the success of this organization, at least, during the last 23 years has been mostly due to the personality of Mr. Gandhi. After him (we wish him a long life) most of the members of the Congress High Command will tactlessly appear in their true colours as ranks communalists while the few others who are sincere and honest among them will not show the same knack in handling the situation as Mr. Gandhi has been showing and on account of their lack of sagacity will ruin their cause. What could be the use of a pact which ultimately could have no value. To the Hindu, Hindu-Muslim Unity denotes a temporary phase of their political struggle for freedom—a diplomacy to avoid conflict with two rivals at the same time."

The Muslims do not believe in the Hindu-Muslim Unity. The Congress is not competent to enter into an agreement and the Hindu Mahasabha could not be befooled by the Muslims. But why do these Muslims wish Mr. Gandhi a long life? They do only because he has shown the knack in handling the political situation. This handling of Mr. Gandhi, alone made them take up this unyielding and aggressive attitude, because he welcomed Nizam's rule and accepted it as most domestic, or because he alone could be so treacherous as to join the Muslims in the days of Khilafat in establishing the Afghan supremacy in India. If it suits the Muslims to wish a long life to Mr. Gandhi, what could the Hindus pray for? Now another Great Leader of the Congress Mr. Rajgopalachariar has taken up the cause of Pakistan. The Muslims wish him too long life and prosperity.

"These two interests can be reconciled by a compromise with the Hindus." writes the 'Punjabi' "The difficulty in the way of effecting a compromise with the Hindus, as already pointed out, is that they are not a united people."

Therefore it is not the Hindu-Muslim unity which is a condition precedent for Swaraj

but it is the unification of the Hindus. This is accepted by the Muslims too. Will the Congress turn its ears to it? The experience of the last two decades unfortunately taught no lesson to the Congress. Even now the Congress position is in no wise better.

"I am convinced "observes Shri Bhai Paramanad, "that if the Congress had not thought of the Hindu-Muslim Unity, if Mr. Gandhi had not made his ill-fated pact with the Ali-Brothers, it could have made a significant contribution to the achievement of Freedom. It would then not have nurtured an enemy to its ideals within its own territories."

VIII

NON-VIOLENCE.

तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व जित्वा शत्रून्मुड्ह्व राज्यं समृद्धम् ॥

“Therefore arise, get thee glory, conquer thy enemies and enjoy an opulent Kingdom.”

The next difference between the two ideologies centres round the Congress doctrine of non-violence. Non-violence is the negation of violence and the Congress accepts in principle that there should be no violence at all in thought, word and deed. Put on the individual plan, the Non-violent cult in practice declares that wrongdoers must not be punished and criminals must not be resisted by any means that smack of physical force. Moral coercion, fasts unto death, boycott, excommunication, disciplinary action does not fall within the boundaries of violence according to the Mahatma. By the Mahatma we mean the Congress as the Congress has at present reduced itself to a lengthened shadow of one individual and that individual is wedded to this cult. Although there are many in the Congress High Command who do not see eye to eye with the

great Mahatma on this creed of non-violence as was clear from Mr. Gandhi's letter addressed to the Congress President during the Working Committee meeting held at Bardoli on the 31st December, 1941. The letter reads.

"I found to my astonishment that most of the members differ from my interpretation and held that opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence".

Concluding Gandhiji says.

"It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world of self-extinction".

Yet those who even differ with him must submit in all loyalty and devotion to this Lord. The late Mr. C. Y. Chintamani wrote in March, 1939.

"Incidentally the happenings at Tripuri have unmasked a farce that has been going on for some years. They have exposed the fiction that Mr. Gandhi is not even an ordinary member of the Congress and is more than once merely tendering advise whenever it is sought. It was on September 17, 1934 that Mr. Gandhi declared his intention to retire from the Congress, because he had come to form an impression that he was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that instead of remaining the most democratic

and representative institution in the country the Congress has degenerated into an organization dominated by my personality and that in it there was no free play of reason.”*

The intellectually minded in the Congress, so it seemed to him, hesitated to act and even to express themselves independently owing to their ‘Unexampled loyalty’ to him and the born democrat that he was, all this was, humiliating to him. At the session of the Congress held at Bombay in October of the same year, there were impassioned appeals to him to reconsider his decision, but he was firm. He said.

“I strongly desire to go out of the Congress in order that the Congress may flourish and grow to its natural height. At the present moment somehow or other I am weighed down with the feeling that the Congress is being suppressed by my giving the natural expression to its views. Therefore, it has become an artificial body and nothing can be so harmful to the growth of an institution or a nation as that it allows itself to be suppressed even for the sake of love.”

So the appeals proved unavailing and the Mahatma retired. But though not even an ordinary member he has continued to enjoy

* Leader Allahabad.

such loyalty from the Congress that his sway over it has continued undiminished. Though only an adviser, all the important decisions taken by the Congress during all these years... ...including the decision to accept office in the provinces and the non-acceptance of Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals regarding the formation of national Government-----have been his. Even the present movement based upon violence or non-violence has been launched by him alone and by none else. How emphatically Mr. Gandhi takes up the responsibility saying on August 9, 1942,

"I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die."*

And yet the fiction that he is nothing in the Congress has been sought to be maintained and nourished. Not only his word even a gesture from him has been law into the Congress.

Unfortunately this cult as presented by the Mahatma has many phases and makes many pretensions. A closer study will convince one that it is nothing but based upon insincerity, hypocrisy and inconsistency. Non-violence according to Mr. Gandhi means,

* Hindustan Times.

"If a man fights with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits armed to teeth, I should say he is fighting non-violently. Haven't I said to our women that, if in defence of their honour they used their nails and teeth and even a dagger, I should regard their conduct non-violent. She does not know the distinction between the Himsa and Ahimsa. She acts spontaneously. Supposing a mouse fighting a cat tried to resist the cat with his sharp teeth, would you call that mouse violent. In the same way, for the Poles to stand bravely against the German hordes vastly superior in numbers, military equipment and strength, was almost non-violence".

But soon afterwards came forth the most disgraceful appeal which in the words of Prof: Devprasad Ghose,

"The implication of this Gujarati Ahimsa cult seems to be that injury to the body or its destruction is the worst misfortune that could befall a man; and hence that must be avoided at all costs. It was in keeping with this train of thought that the Mahatma made the most disgraceful appeal that modern history records, viz. his appeal to Britain 'to surrender to Hitler and Mussolini and to ask those amiable gentlemen to do what they liked with their lives and liberties for in case the British chose to resist there would be 'Senseless Slaughter'. The whole world wondered,

and India hung down her head in shame that a man accredited as India's leader could stoop so incredibly low. But then the world forgot that beneath all the Mahatamic varnish there was the incredible Bania to whom heroism and valour made no appeal, and the most curious part of it is that Gandhi is supposed to have made a special study of the Gita....."the song celestial," that proclaims, in ringing tones, that the body is nought and that fighting for a just cause without malice or ill-will is the noblest mission and the privilege of the happy warrior. In fact, all the self-centred meanness of the coward and slave, all the craving for bodily ease and creature-comforts of the pampered epicure find their philosophy and their vindication ready to land in this much boomed cult of bodily Ahimsa. A vigorous race, a sturdy nation, a powerful people can never be reared up on this pernicious 'spiritual' nebulum".

The encouragement given to the Poles and the defence they put up against the Germans was taken as non-violent but the advice to British to surrender before Hitler seems nothing but Mr. Gandhi's contradicting himself by the same stroke of argument.

Leaving aside Mr. Gandhi, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru says.

"A hundred thousand non-violent persons are better able to fight the enemy than a hundred thousand soldiers".

The advice of Pt. Jawahar Lal is also based on the same principle of non-violence presented by his great leader Mr. Gandhi.

The great philosopher Herbert Spencer remarked.

"Resistance to aggression is not only justifiable but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both egoism and altruism".

What we find today all around us is the struggle for existence that is raging every moment of our life. Its verdict is the survival of the fittest. This present European war the deadliest of all times simply makes us bewildered and we pity the man that preaches the doctrine of non-violence, and wink at the facts.

"The apologists of non-violence argue their case thus, "Violence as a method even of national self-defence is not merely immoral but also ineffective. For have not Poland, Belgium, Holland, Norway and even France been unable to save themselves, though they employed violence to fight the Germans, consequently violence is useless even as a method of defence".

How mistaken are these fighters in the cause of non-violence! The Nations suffering

defeat at the hands of Hitler inspite of their violent defence surrendered not because of their violence but because they were less violent.

Leaving aside the human beings for a while, what do we find all around us? Go to a jungle and we find a deer is running to save his life from the pursuit of a lion or tiger, a jungle hen is hiding herself from the jaws of a jungle cat, a poor lamb praying for life at the feet of a wolf. Take for instance the insects. One is the morsel of the other. Survival of the fittest is the law of nature and this law is only applicable by violence alone.

When the Congress asserts that Swarajya is impossible without the Hindu-Muslim unity, their principle of non-violence certainly sounds strange and impracticable. They strove hard for the last 30 years to bring about a liaison with the Muslims, the teachings of whose religion are nothing but an antithesis of the cult of non-violence. It is a community with all its back ground of historical aggressiveness. The teachings of their holy prophet are,

“O Allah : whomsoever Thou keepest alive from among us, keep him alive on Islam and whomsoever Thou giveth death from amongst us give him death on Faith.

At another place the Holy Quran ordains.

“As to those on whose part you fear desertion, admonish them, and leave them alone in the sleeping places and beat them.*

The principle which guides the Muslim community is frankly and boldly explained by one of the great Muslim Leaders Allama Mashriki.

“Your effeminate leader (He refers to Mr. Gandhi) was the leader of an effeminate race which throughout its life has never handled a sword, never fought a battle bravely, never conquered a fort for hundreds of years. What better advice for the achievement of freedom could he give to his race than this that you are fit for being beaten and therefore you should be beaten. You have never been violent to anybody. Therefore you follow non-violence. Like womenfolk curse your enemies. When the husband orders, non-cooperate like a dutiful wife. Triyahat (त्रियाहट) is a useful and famous means. Use it. If you are to get the government of home, make the life of your husband so miserable with non-cooperation, murmur and cry that he may have no alternative but to live afar from the house. He may be compelled to sue for divorce and seek peace and shelter elsewhere. Could you say it with justice that a bare and naked faqir wearing only a

*Translation of Holy Quran by the late Maulana Mohammad Ali.

langoti could teach anything else. Finding his community worthless for everything else, that poor man amazed a whole world by the introduction of the laughable principles of Satyagraha, Ahimsa, Non-violence, Civil Disobedience etc. in the name of Hindu philosophy. The Mahatma blinded the eyes of the whole sword..... It began to understand that the sword in the hand of the man was mistaken, that arms in the hand of a weak were a mistake, that horns on the head of a buffalo were a mistake, that claws in the foot of a lion were a mistake, that sting in scorpion was a mistake, that wings of a bird were a mistake. In short all philosophy of a sword was a mistake. That Deen Fitrat was a mistake. Deen Islam was a mistake....All this was a grave and dangerous insult to Deen Islam. It was not in keeping with the dignity of the Islamhood of Islam. If a Muslim could not have seen anything else, he should have seen his rusty sword, he should have noticed the many qualities of his race, he should have seen and realized his exalted and privileged position on the face of the globe, he should have fixed his eyes on those martyrs Khalid and Taureeq, Mahmud and Islail, nay on Mustafa Kamal Pasha and Ibn Saud. The fixing of the eyes on Tilak, Gokhale and Gandhi by the Indian Muslims was an open insult to Islamic consolidation of the last 1300 years.”*

Taking this attitude towards non-violence as an accepted truth in the case of the Muslims of India and judging the attitude of the Moplas in Malabar in 1924, of the Hurs of Sind in 1942 and of the permanent outlook of the Pathans of Kabul and the tribal area for centuries together, the advice of Mr. Gandhi could only make the Hindus cowardly and impotent. It will only make them indifferent when another community is preparing itself for Pakistan or Civil War. Surely it is not consistent with anything dignified and honourable.

"Ahimsa is not mentioned specifically in any but one of the early Upanishadas, though moral principles are more developed in them than in the Vedic Samhitas. Thus the Mundaka Upanishad says that the soul is to be realised by "Satya" (Truth) *Tapas* (Austerities), *Jnana* (Knowledge), and *charya* (Purification). (III, 1.5), The virtues of "Rita" (Truth), 'Swadhyaya' (Study of Vedas) 'Prabachanam' (the teaching of the vedas). 'Satya' 'Tapas' 'Dama' and 'Sama' (Self-Control), 'Agnihotra' (Sacrifice of fire), hospitality, procreation of children and 'Dana' (Charity) are extolled in the 'Tritiya' Upanishad (1.9.) These as well as 'Yajna' (Sacrifice) 'Upanishada' (Mental worship) and 'Nayasa (renunciation)

are urged by the Narayaindia Upanishada describes 'Tapas', 'Dana and 'Karma' (action) as the bases of the knowledge of Brahaman as the Vedas are the limbs and truth the body. (IV.8) The Prasha Upanishada enjoins 'Tapas' 'Satya' 'Brahamcharya Sraddha' (Reverence) and 'Vidya' (Learning). (1.10.V.3). It also describes 'Gihmamg' (Crookedness), 'Auritam' (falsehood) and 'Maya' (deceit) (1.16) The Kausitaki Upanishada mentions only 'Satya' and 'Tapas' (1.20.) The Brihadaranyaka, Upanishada enjoins the virtues of 'Dama' 'Dana' (charity) and 'daya' (pity). Ahimsa is not mentioned in the afore-said Upanishadas, or in the Isa and Katha, Mandukya and Svetavattra or in the Aitareya Upanishada which contains the teachings of Mehidas Aitarya, the father of Indian Philosophy. It might be argued of course, that 'Ahimsa' is included in the term 'Dana' and 'sama'. The latter Yogic Upanishadas, like the J. Vadarassans (1.6), the Sandilya (1.1.) and Varsha (V.12.) Upanishadas mention it as one of the ten virtues classes under the term 'Yama'. But these are much later works, and no inference can be drawn from them in regard to the earlier texts.

'Ahimsa' is, however stressed on in the chhadeya Upanishada along with the virtues of 'Tapa', 'Danam'. 'Aryavam' (straight-forwardness) and 'Satyabachnam' (III.174). The Cohandyoga Upanishada is also regarded as one of the earliest Upanishadas.

Another passage of this Upanishada describes 'Jajna', 'Adhyayana' (study) and 'Danam' and 'Tapas' and 'Brahamcharya' as also enjoined by this Upanishada. It is said that he who abstains from harming all creatures except in holy places attain Brahma-loka (the abode of God Brahma) and do not return thence." (VIII:15.1.)

The battlefield of Kurukshetra is regarded by the Brahmanas, several of the Upanishadas, and other Hindu scriptures as a Dharmakshetra, as the holiest of the holy places. Those who die in this land immediately attain heaven. The reason is probably that it was sanctified by the blood of martyrs. The Underlying principle of the aforesaid passage of the Chhandogya Upanishada appears, therefore, to be that it is not sin but on the other hand a virtue to kill and get killed, in a battlefield for the cause of righteousness.

'Ahimsa' of the mind, and physical non-violence are extolled, by the implication, by the Katha and the Jabaldarsana Upanishada. The former lays down that 'the unborn', immortal and eternal soul is not killed even if the body is destroyed, and also that he who thinks that he is killed as well as he who intends to kill is alike ignorant, as this (the soul) neither kills nor is killed.' (11.18.19.) According to this principle of the Kathas it is impossible to altogether destroy or even do any substantial harm to any living being. The Jabaldar-

sana Upanishada says that the above principle is regarded as the best kind of 'Ahimsa' by the Vedantavadins, (1.8.) it is also forcefully expressed in the Bhagwad Gita ; the principle that one can do all acts with a dispassionate mind is inculcated in the Kalika Upanishada also (13).

'Himsa' (violence) as well as 'sneha' (affection) and other qualities have been described as a Rajas Guna by the Maitri Upanishada, (III.5.e.) It also enjoins upon Sanyassis, or ascetics to give 'Abhyam or security and fearlessness to all creatures. (IV.8.c) This Upanishada, however, says that Brahma is realisable by 'Vidya' 'Tapas' and 'Ginta' (thinking) (IV.4.a.) the Narada-Paribrajaka (1.2.III.22), and the Paramahamsparibrajka (4) Upanishadas also urge ascetics to give security to all as well as to becoming themselves fearless of all. It may be pointed out that the aforesaid three Upanishadas lay down these rules only for the ascetics. Moreover, they are all later works.

'Ahimsa' in thought, word and deed is extolled in the sandily. (1.1.) Sathhyani (14) (Jabadaran) (1.7.) and other Yogic and Sanyas Upanishada. But they are all very later works, and presuppose the discussions on the subject between Buddha, Mahavira and Makhali Gosala, the last of whom was one of the founders of

the Ajivika sect. None of those Upanishadas can be said to fall within the proper period of Upanishadas.

Almost all the ideals of India have been shaped by our great thinker and seer Bhagwan Krishna, who at the Battlefield of Kurukshetra questions Arjuna thus:—

कुतस्त्वा कश्मलभिदं विषमे समुपस्थितम् ।
अनार्यं जुष्टमस्वर्गमकीर्तिकरमर्जुन ॥२।२॥ गीता

“The Blessed Lord said: Whence has come to thee this dejection, this stain and darkness of the soul in the hour of difficulty and peril, O Arjuna? This is not the way cherished by the Aryan man; this mood came not from heaven nor can it lead to heaven, and on earth it is the forfeiting of glory.

वलैव्यं सा स्म गमः पार्थं नैतत्त्वय्युपपद्यते ।
क्षद्रं हृदयदौर्बल्यं त्यक्त्वोक्तिष्ठ परन्तप ॥२।३॥ गीता

“Fall not from the virility of the fighter and the hero, O Partha, it is not fitting in thee. Shake off this paltry faint-heartedness. Stand up, Parantapa (Scourge of the foes).”

यं हि न व्यथयन्त्येते पुरुषं पुरुषं भ ।
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोडमृतत्वाय कल्पते ॥२।१५॥ गीता

“The man whom these do not trouble nor pain, O lion-hearted among men, the firm and wise who is equal in pleasure and suffering, makes himself apt for immortality.”

स्वधर्ममपि चावेद्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।

धर्म्याद्वि युद्धाच्छ्रुयेऽन्यलक्ष्मियस्य न विद्यते ॥२॥३१॥ गीता

“Further, looking to thine own law of action thou shouldst not tremble; there is no greater good for the Kshatriya than righteous battle.

यद्यच्छ्रया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।

सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥२॥३२॥ गीता

“When such a battle comes to them of itself like the open gate of heaven, happy are the Kshatriyas then.

अथ चेत्वमिमं धर्म्यं सप्राप्तं न करिष्यसि ।

ततः स्वधर्मं कीर्ति च हित्वा पापमवाप्त्यसि ॥२॥३३॥ गीता

“But if thou dost not this battle for the right, then hast thou abandoned thy duty and virtue and thy glory, and sin shall be thy portion.”

हतो वा प्राप्त्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोद्यसे महीम् ।

तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥२॥३४॥ गीता

“Slain thou shalt win heaven, victorious thou shalt enjoy the earth; therefore arise, O son of Kunti, resolved upon battle.”

After a long and winding discourse, Lord Krishna convinced his disciple that fighting in the cause of his sacred Dharma was the only alternative for a Kshatriya. Arjun then acknowledged :—

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिलङ्घवा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत ।
स्थितोऽस्मि गत सन्देहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ॥१८॥७३॥ गीता

“Arjuna Said : Destroyed is my delusion, I have regained through thy grace, O infallible one. I am firm, dispelled are my doubts. I will act according to thy word.”

The Gita is a gospel of war and heroic action, a Nietzschean creed of power and high browed strength which holds pity to be a weakness. It is a world of mutual help and struggle; not a serene and peaceful gliding through easy joys is the progress it allows us, but every step has to be gained by heroic effort and through a clash of opposing forces. Those who take the inner and the outer struggle even to be the most physical clash of all, that of war, - are the Kshattriyas, the mighty men; protection of the right and an unflinching acceptance of the gaze of the battle is their virtue and their duty. His duty and his virtue lie in battle and not in absention from battle; it is not slaughter but non-slaying which would be here the sin.

Our Upanishada is more emphatic in saying :—

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः ।

“A weak cannot be the master of the soul.”

· David says in one of the psalms :

“ Fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me ”.

Jesus Christ’s advice to his disciples was,

“ Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves ; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves ”.

There is a well authenticated anecdote of Cromwell. On a certain occasion when his troops were about to cross a river to attack the enemy, he addresses them thus :—

“ Put your trust in God ; but mind to keep your powder dry ”.

To the ancient Hindu, war was a mere pastime. It was one of the avocations in his life. For a Kshatriya, it was his Dharma which led him to Heaven after death.

“ Amongst hundreds of pagodas in Nepal, the only Independent Hindu Kingdom of the world there stands however the celestial “Temple of Bhimsen” with a singular significance and peculiar importance for the simple, innocent and war-like Gorkhas, providing us with a glimpse into the national traits of a Nepalee. The time-honoured tradition points out that the site where stands today the proud temple was

the place which afforded the final beatitude to Bhimsen the bravest among the Pandva brothers. Disappointed at securing a status lower than Duryodhana, the eldest amongst the Kaurva brothers, in the Heaven, Bhimsen plodded down to the Durbar of Indra, the Lord of Gods. He addressed the Lord, "O, King of Gods, it behaves thee not well to assign Duryodhana whom I made to kneel before me and whose head I broke, a position of respect and dignity better than that of mine in heaven". The Lord was amused to learn of the canker in the heart of the Pandava and smilingly replied, "O, Pandava, thou knowest not of my fair deal. The eldest son of Dhritrashtra gave his life, like a true Kshatriya fighting in the field of action, whereas such was not the case with thee". Bhimsen was cut to the quick, but at the same time realising his weakness told the Lord, "Sire, Bhima shall not suffer the insult". The Lord of Gods advised him thus, "O, gallant Knight, if thou feelest the urge to fulfil thine wish, retire to the Himalayas and perform penance". The temple latter known as Bhimsen temple, stands where Bhimsem performed penance, in the heart of the Himalayas."

The ancient Hindus realised that war was as essential for existence as eating and drinking. It is an offspring of the common instincts of man. The history of the Hindu-

sthan reveals that when the Hindus conquered, when they colonised the far off lands, when they vanquished their foes in pitched battles, when they were at the height of their glory, they were aggressive, * they were violent and knew not what non-violence meant. Non-violence is immoral, something derided by nature.

Swami Vivekananda, one of the modern apostles of Hinduism declares.

"Resist all evils, mental and physical and when you have succeeded in resisting, then will calmness come. It is very easy to say 'hate nobody, resist no evil'. But we know what that kindness generally means in practice. When the eyes of society are turned towards us, we make a sign of non-resistance but in our hearts it lives like a canker all the time. We feel the utter want of the calm of non-resistance ; we feel that it would be better for us to resist". "Plunge into the world, "he adds" and after a time when you have suffered and enjoyed all that is in it, then will renunciation come, then will calmness come".

"Hinduism and non-violence are two contradictory terms as the Hindu gods and the Hindu goddesses are painted with arms", observes Prof. Amar Nath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. "There is not a single word in the scriptures and the history of Hinduism

that speaks of non-violence which the Hindus are now taught by Gandhi to uphold and to make the *vademecum* of their life", continues Prof. Jha.

"When India counted", said Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore, recently, "When India was magnificent, when India conquered, when India was heroic, when India was a land of splendour, when India colonised, she was aggressive. To say that the message of Hinduism is non-violence, is not true. It is not Hindu philosophy. It is Jainism; it is one aspect of Tolstoyism".

Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Shastri observes,

"Weak-kneed appeasement of the Muslims is not the only fault of the Congress. Its exaggerated Ahimsa ideology is equally at fault, and is as wrong as its representation of a Blank cheque to the Muslims."

It is rightly said that the only Christian who died on the cross was Christ; it is true that the only Ahimsa-idealist today lives in Mr. Gandhi. But granting the soundness of his view, how does it follow that seeking the aid of the state to repel the invading hordes and quell internal disorders, is *Himsa*? Such *Himsa* is only a form or mode or *vibhuti* of Ahimsa. In ancient days, our sages *used to* seek the protection of Rajas against the aggressions of the Rakshas, as Rishi Vishwamitra took Rama and

Lakshaman into jungles to save their Yagnas from the interference of the Raksha (or demons) This was protective *Himsa*. The Hindu Scriptures say that to preserve the freedom and peace of the land and to save the honour of the women and to protect the lives of the young and the old and the infirm and the helpless and the pacific sages and ascetics, *Himsa* is needed for our safety. Aggressive *Himsa* is *Himsa*; but protective *Himsa* is undoubtedly *Ahimsa*.

If Mr. Gandhi had not preached Non-violence, if the Congress had got the Arms Act repealed and had got the distinctions of martial and non-martial classes abolished, if even in the days of their Governments, they had made military training compulsory in every school and college in the seven provinces, they could have brought India nearer to the goal of Independence, for which they profess to exist. On the other hand, Hindu Mahasabha, within its own limitations carried on agitation for the repeal of Arms Act and for compulsory military training for years together. But who cares for the Mahasabha? The Hindus blindly follow the Congress and wedded to the doctrine of Non-Violence. When shall we open our eyes, and leave this effeminacy of which we are accused of?

IX

THE CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM RAJ.

O, had thy grandsire, with a prophet's eye,
Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons
From forth thy reach he would have laid thy
shame,
Deposing thee before thou wert possess'd
Which are possess'd now to depose thyself !

The Congress by coddling with the Moslems attempted at establishing the Muslim Raj in the Hindustan. This is another vital difference between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. It may sound strange to many, but a few of the leaders of Congress who controlled its political destinies between the year 1920-1924 did join the conspiracy with the Muslim Leaders. No stone was left unturned by them to achieve their objective. Whether they failed or succeeded, that is a different story.

After the fall of the Moghal Empire in India, when Bahadur Shah the last of the Moghal rulers was deported to Rangoon, the Moslems though to all outward appearances,

submitted to the chains of foreign domination on account of their helplessness, in fact never took their defeat lightly and meekly. The innermost of the Muslim mind was feeling the pinch the humiliation which they were forced to bear. To study the Muslim mind more carefully, we must go back to 1857.

"After the Mutiny of 1857 had swept off the old order," writes Prof. Beni Prashad, in his book 'The Hindu-Muslim Questions', "The field was clear for movements and organizations of a different order. The Logic of history summoned the country to make up for the long seclusion from world affairs and for the prolonged ignorance of world events. The hundred years that followed may be described as a period of transition in every walk of life, readjustment on new lines and an attempt to recover political autonomy".

In the next 20 years we find reformist and revivalist movement in India. Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Theosophical Societies and various other reform movements came into existence. All this could not keep the Muslims unaffected. Revivalism among the Muslims became significant. Professor Beni Prashad summarising the situation says,

"Back to the example of the prophet," "Back to the early Khilafat" was the call of the revivalism which occurred among the Muslims. Here the movement was complicated by Middle East contacts and was coloured to a greater degree by recollections of the lost domination. There is in pan-Islamism itself an element of revivalism—a passion to shake off Western domination and return to the glorious epoch of righteous and widespread Muslim sway. Early, in the nineteenth century, Haji Shariat Allah, inspired by the Wahhabi movement of Arabia, preached a return to the pristine purity of Islam and discouraged contrary etiquette and customs. He felt that India, on passing under British Rule, had ceased to be Dar-ul-Islam or the land of Islam or peace and had become Dar-ul-Harab, the land of war. His son Dadhu Miyan proclaimed the equality of man, energetically espoused the cause of the poor and the distressed, upheld puritanism and forbade un-Islamic practices. Sayyad Ahmad of Rai Bareli in the United Provinces, founded the Tariqah-i-Mohammadiyah or the return to the ways of Prophet, and envisaged a holy war.....The Ahl-i-Hadis, founded about the same time, proclaimed afresh the unity of God, the exclusive supremacy of the Holy Quran and Hadis (or Traditions) denounced polytheism, the worship of saints and all those customs which prevailed among the Muslims in contradiction to the true faith. A very strong note of

revivalism is also struck by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed Qadiani (1839-1909).”**

Clifford Manshardt, writes too,

“The Muslims, on their part, had the memories of a Moghal India, when the Muslims held the upper hand, and which represented to them a golden age just as significant as the Vedic golden age of the Hindus..... Indian Muslims were not unaffected by the wave of unrest which seemed to be sweeping the East, but this unrest found its expression more in the Pan-Islamic movement than in the Indian Nationalist movement”.**

The Muslims accordingly under the leadership of Sir Saiyed Ahmed kept themselves aloof from the Indian National Congress. He sought to reconcile the old and the new by the education and learning imparted through the establishment of the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875.

The Muslim dream of Pan-Islamism, owing to their rememberance of the Moghal Empire coupled with the injunctions of the Holy Quran was already there. A spark was only to be ignited—a spark which was ignited by the pro-Muslim policy of the Congress from

* The Hindu Muslim question.

**The Hindu Muslim Problem in India.

the very beginning. This was first as a matter of policy, and secondly as a matter of their commitments and follies. The Congress agitation for Reforms brought something in return. With the rose came a thorn. The Muslim leaders in 1908, declared that "It is the right of minorities to be treacherous to the country." This agitation of the Muslim separation was carried to England under the leadership of Sir Agha Khan and the late Mr. Amir Ali. In replying to the Mohammadan deputation Lord Morley said,

"I know very well that any injustice, any suspicion that we are capable of being unjust to the Mohammadans in India would certainly provoke a severe and injurious reaction in Constantinople."*

Sponsored by Lord Minto and accepted directly by the Indian National Congress, the separate Communal Electorates added strength to the dreams of their past and the Muslims began establishing and consolidating themselves as an independent nation. They took up Indian Politics, independent of other nationalist movements of the Hindustan. Assisted by the British who were "to

* Lord Morley's Indian Speeches.

divide and rule'', encouraged by the Indian National Congress in their attempt to put up a united front, and backed up by Independent Muslim countries, the Muslims of India took up a different line altogether. Perhaps it was the darkest day in the history of our political struggle, when the Congress attitude became pro-Muslim.

The Muslims have all along succeeded and sometimes, beyond their own expectations, in getting the support of the British Government on account of their religious affinity with the outside Muslim countries. On the other hand, the Hindus have to fall back on their homogeneity. They have no independent state to support their cause, not even to cheer them with sympathy in their grievances. They are circumscribed within the four walls of the Hindusthan and have no outside assistance to influence the attitude of their rulers.

Wrote the late Lala Lal Chand in 1909,

"To add to this natural misfortune, the Hindus have got a self-inflicted one in what is called and known as the Congress. This has proved a veritable source of weakness for purely the Hindu interests. If there is one thing which is strictly for-

bidden within the precincts of the Congress, it is the term 'Hindu'. Resolutions may be passed to favour the purely Mohammedan interests but the very word '*Hindu*' itself is a taboo there. I am not drawing simply on imagination. A special resolution was passed in the Congress respecting the Mohammadan grievances with regard to the Law of Endowments. It did not, of course, affect the Hindus in any manner, but I give it as an instance of sectarian resolution. In the 2nd Congress which was held at Lahore a Resolution was strongly supported by the Congress Leaders, demanding special concessions to the Mohammadans in the matter of education, but it was dropped owing to strong opposition by the delegates. On the other hand, a resolution to the Land Alienation Act could not be put forward, because it was objected to by one Mohammadan delegate and might possibly give offence to the Mohammadans outside the Congress".*

Professor Beni Prashad writes,

"It was an old attachment to Pan-Islamism and a new observation of minority politics in Europe that landed the Muslim League into acute antagonism with the Congress. Pan-Islamism, a creed of alliance, solidarity or collaboration among all the Muslim States or among Mussalmans all over the world appears at first sight

* Self-Abnegation in Politics.

as the political counterpart of the brotherhood of the Faithful. The spread of Islam over three continents by the 8th century A.D. rendered it difficult to maintain the political unity of the Khilafat. In the 13th century, the Abbasid Khilafat was subjected by the Moghals to a severe blow from which it never recovered, but the idea of the Khilafat as a single spiritual power for the Islamic world remained to be embodied in the Ottoman Sultanate at Constantinople. Later it seemed to receive fresh vitality from the facilities of transport and communication. It became the foundation of the Pan-Islamism led by the Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1908) and was used by the Turkish leaders to win the sympathies of all their co-religionists in the war of 1914-1918. Mustafa Kamal Pasha, who created a nation-state in Turkey and sought to modernise the people abolished the Khilafat in 1924, but the idea did not die out. Two years later, there was held at Cairo a Khilafat Conference which was attended by an Indian delegation and which endeavoured to set up a Khalifa to be the head of an Alliance of Muslim Nations. The attempt failed, but there was again a significant development when the Sheikhs of Al Azhar, the thousand year old University of Cairo, revived the idea in favour of Young Egyptian monarch King Farouk, on January 30, 1939 on the occasion of one of his visits to the Quosoun mosque in the presence of the Amir Hussain of Yemen and the Amirs Feisal and Khalad

of Saudi Arabia.....The hearts of Indian Muslims vibrated in sympathy with the Egyptian movement for independence during the present century, with Persia in her unequal struggle against the British and Russian encroachments in 1907, with Turkey in her dismemberment after the last war, with the Arabs of Palestine in their reaction against Political and economic dangers since 1911, and with Albania at the moment of her annexation by Italy in 1939. There is a psychological satisfaction, a feeling of pride and self-respect, in contemplation of lands peopled by co-religionists and, unlike India, enjoying independence.”*

The extent to which this ambition has now gone is reflected in a recent book, *Confederacy of India*” by the Punjabi” which declares :—

“A state composed of heterogenous elements alien to Islam, posits perfect isolation as indispensable to the development of an Islamic policy on the basis of an inseparable union between religion and policy, then perceives the impossibility of maintaining this ideal for long in an un-Islamic world and concludes therefore by forecasting that “We shall have to advocate world revolution on Islamic Lines”.

Besides the Muslim League with their dreams of an Islamic State, and their activities of organizing the Muslims on different lines

*The Hindu Muslim question.

which was supported by the British Government under pressure of the international situation and encouraged by the Congress on account of their Pro-Muslim policy, another Muslim Organization more fanatically fanatic and more aggressive namely the 'Khilafat' came into the field in 1919. The movement was apparently less communal as it was only to fight the British on the question of the Khilafat! It was organized under the leadership of Maulana Mohd. Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Azad and other Congress leaders. The necessity of starting a new organization was, perhaps, felt as the Muslim League could not have been able to dupe the Hindus of India for a 'Khilafat' cause. The Muslim leaders knew that in this new 'Khilafat' organization Mr. Gandhi would be duped in as much as afterwards he actually accepted its leadership.

"The movement was started by the Mohammedans, but was taken up by Mr. Gandhi with a tenacity and faith which must have surprised many Mohammedans themselves." Writes Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his book "Thoughts on Pakistan."

Lacs of rupees of the Hindus were utilised for an object in which they had no interest. The cry of the Hindu-Muslim unity

was raised. Great and unprecedented demonstrations of this hired unity were exhibited by opening 'Shabils' where the Hindus and the Muslims drank water together in one glass. Even men like Swami Shraddhananda addressed the public gatherings from the rostrum of the Jumma Mosque of Delhi. The Hindu blood and the Hindu sweat were sacrificed for those who wanted to establish the Muslim Raj in India. The leaders of the Khilafat did leave no stone unturned achieving their objective. If they failed, it was not because the Congress did not betray the Hindus or the land of the Hindus—the Hindusthan, but they failed because the Muslim countries in which they had their hopes for invading India failed to do so.

How fatal was the Khilafat movement encouraged and supported by the Indian National Congress can amply be proved from the following:—

Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias wrote in the *Renaissance India*.—

“Turkey had been the palladium of every Indian Muslim, the Sultan of Turkey being the Khalifa of all the Faithful, his sword their ultimate protection against

encroachments on the part of the infidel ; what would happen to them, if that sure shield of theirs were removed ? Without help from outside, a minority in India itself; what future was awaiting them?"

This was the reason which stirred the Mussalmans both nationalists and communalists. The pity was that the Congress could not understand their move. What had they in common with the Muslim grievances ? None could follow.

The Muslims have since long been fighting Holy Wars with the Hindus. The Rowlett Committee reported,

"Saiyed Ahmad, who had begun life as a soldier of fortune, adopted Wahabri doctrines, visited Mecca in 1822, returned to India, where he acquired a following at various places in the Gangetic plain, and in 1824 appeared among the mountain tribes on the Peshawar border, preaching Jihad or war against the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab. Together with his adherents, he founded a Colony which, although small, has survived many vicissitudes and remains until now. It has frequently been assisted by recruits and funds from co-religionists in this country.....Its members regard India as a land not governed by Muslims and therefore unfit for Muslim habitation, a

land of the enemy (Dar-ul-harab). They have always preached Jihad. They have always kept in touch with and drawn support from a secret organization of friends in India. During the troubles of 1857, they were joined by a number of mutineers and endeavoured unsuccessfully to bring about a general frontier attack. Later on, they took part in various border wars and in 1915, were concerned in rising, which led up to the engagements at "Rustum and Shabkader." It further stated, "The flight of the fifteen students from Lahore in February, 1915, was a visible sign that there are in this country, as there were fifty years ago, a few Mohammadans who teach that the way of salvation lies in waging war against the infidel Government of India either personally or by recruiting for or sending money to the Mujahidin. This fact has been established by other evidence. In January, 1817, it was discovered that a party of eight Mohammadans had joined the Mujahidins from the districts of Rangpur and Dacca in Eastern Bengal. In March 1917, two Bengali Mohammadans were arrested in the North-West Frontier Province with Rs. 8,000 in their possession, which they were conveying to the fanatical colony."

In this connection it will be interesting to refer to a conversation of the year 1914, between Shri Bhai Parmanand and Maulana Abul

Kalam Azad now President of Indian National Congress. Maulana was then the Editor of 'Al-Ilillah' and had been to Peshawar to seek support for the Indian cause. On his return from that place he met Bhaiji at Lahore when he suggested that the best thing for them would be to invite Amir Habibur Rahman of Afghanistan if they wanted to get rid of the British yoke. Bhaiji at once retorted; "Why not call Nepal, which has a far better and well-equipped army?" The Maulana replied that he had never thought of it. How could the Maulana think of Nepal? It is useless for us to expect anything else from a Muslim, even though he may be a Muslim of the Maulana's repute, so much beloved by the Congress patriots and thought to be the pillar of the Hindu-Muslim Unity in India.

Sir George Mac-Mum gives out another fact that the Amir of Afghanistan in an interview with the Turkish ambassador who came to get help from him, said.

"I await the Turkish armies on their way to India and I shall be ready to lead the hosts of Islam by their side."*

* History of Afghanistan by Sir George Mac-Mum quoted in Gandhi-Muslim Conspiracy.

In India political atmosphere was becoming more tense. The Muslims wanted to make the best use of the situation. The Congress and Mr. Gandhi were already in the Pockets of the Ali Brothers.

Writes, C. S. Ranga Iyer in 'India, Peace or War.'

"Staggered by the rebellion of the people, Sir Michael O'Dwyer the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, deported two prominent leaders of Amritsar, and resisted the march of Mahatma Gandhi himself to the battle front in the Punjab. 'The arrest of Mahatma', as the papers described his expulsion from the Punjab, was the match which fired the magazine. Mobs demonstrated their frenzy. Disturbances followed in Amritsar. The Civil authority felt unequal to the situation, General Dwyer, who was asked to intervene, produced 'sufficient moral effect from a military point of view' and subsequently the Government enforced martial law in certain selected areas in the Punjab. The gulf of estrangement between the Europeans and the Indians widened.

Even India witnessed the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh.

"As if the exasperation caused by the Punjab tragedy was not enough", continues C. S. Ranga Iyer, 'Muslim sentiment was shock-

ed by the treatment meted out to Turkey and the Khilafat.....The Muslim Press and Public made it clear that the Khilafat was the very essence of Islam, and its temporal and spiritual strength and importance should remain intact. The Muslims declined to participate in the peace celebrations, from which the Hindus also abstained in deference to the feelings of their brothers in adversity. The anti-Turkish organs in the Christian countries plainly demanded the expulsion of Turkey bag and baggage from Constantinople.....

"Maulana Shaukat Ali issued a manifesto that the Mussalmans could be no longer loyal to England, when that loyalty clashed with their faithful adherence to the Khilafat. "Gandhi proclaimed that March, 19, 1920, would be observed as the day of national mourning in the Khilafat cause. "In a manifesto which he published on March, 10 the Mahatma plainly stated his intentions, if the Khilafat demands were not granted. "The barbarous method is warfare open or secret. This must be ruled out because it is impracticable." The civilized method was non-violent non-cooperation, on which he courageously and deliberately launched the country..... Muslim feeling was considerably exercised. Over 18,000 Mussalmans had already gone on Hijrat to Afghanistan, like the Pilgrim Fathers."

The Congress made common cause with the Muslims. A special session of the Indian

National Congress was held at Calcutta in 1920, which passed the following resolution, the extract of which is :—

“In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Muslims of India and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-muslim Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Muslim brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has over-taken him.”

A crore of rupees was realized from the pockets of the Hindus. *Swarajya* was promised within 12 months. How the independence which could not be secured within the last 200 years of the English rule in spite of various efforts including the so-called Mutiny of 1857, was to be achieved within a short period of 12 months ? Gandhi ji was hoodwinked by the Muslim leaders. According to them, Kabul and Turkey were to invade India and turn out the British. Knowing very well the motive of the Muslims behind the Khilafat and viewing his omissions and commissions during these years it appears that Mr. Gandhi was a 'clever

, knave?' In 1922, Sir Shankaran Nair had exclaimed,

"But for the fact that he (Mr. Gandhi) is well known to be a saint and Mahatma, I would have had no hesitation in saying that his observations about meeting the Afghans show him to be either a fool or a knave."*

On April, 22, 1919, long before the Khilafat agitation became a mass movement, H. E. the Viceroy, wrote to Sultan Amanullah as follows,

"Letter dated 29th April 1919 written by the foreign Minister of Your Majesty, has been discovered in the papers of Your Majesty's envoy at Simla. It instructs the envoy to make treaties of friendship with the leaders of Hindus and Muslims in India. It also contained instructions that he should incite them to write articles in the newspapers calculated to create disaffection in the minds of the people and to inform them that the golden opportunity was drawing very near. The Indian leaders were advised to continue their correspondence, without a break, with the Commander-in-Chief Sardar Nadir Khan".†

The following extract from the 'Young India' dated June 9, 1920, leaves no room to

* Gandhi and Anarchy.

† Parliamentary papers, Third Afghan War.

doubt that Mr. Gandhi was aware of the complications and the intentions of the Muslims of India. He admits,

"Mrs. Besant and Dr. Sapru strongly dissuaded the Mohammadans present from the policy of non-cooperation, they saw many practical difficulties and they feared also complications arising from Mohammadans, welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. The Mohammadan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurance that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without undertaken with a view to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support. It is easy enough to understand and justify the Hindu caution."

Afghanistan and Russia entered into a treaty by the end of February 1921. The Khilafat movement now vigorously started their propaganda and awakened the Muslim consciousness. Maulana Mohammad Ali, the leader of the Khilafat delivered inflammatory and exciting speeches everywhere in India. Sir William Vincent, the then Home-Member during his speech in the Legislative Assembly on 23rd March, 1921 observed,

"Let us take the case of two prominent Muslims who identify themselves with the case of Mr. Gandhi. Has it not been freely bruited abroad rightly or wrongly that they conceive the idea of a Mussalman Empire in this country? Has it not even been said that they intend to effect this with the aid of foreign enemies? Has it not even been said that they contemplate an invasion of this country by a foreign power within a couple of months, which invasion Muslims inside this country are to aid?"

Mr. Rushbrook Williams in his report of 1921 remarked,

"The Khilafat extremists in general and the Ali Brothers in particular proceeded to deliver a series of violent speeches pointing unmistakably in the direction of Islamic supremacy, a religious war and the liberation of India from the British yoke with the help of trans-Frontier Mohammadan forces. For example, Mr. Mohammad Ali in the course of singular offensive speech at Madras announced that Englishmen would soon be compelled to leave India and that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade India, not aggressively, but for the liberation of the country from an infidel yoke, it would be the duty of all Muslims to assist him actively."*

* Quoted in Gandhi-Muslim conspiracy by a Hindu nationalist.

Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Congress still forgot that if English could be infidel at that stage, those very Hindus would also be treated as infidels after the Afghan invasion succeeded in India. A move based on religious principles must cut both ways. Still Mr. Gandhi was not only at their back but was actually leading the Khilafatists.

Maulana Shaukat Ali, speaking at the Khilafat Conference held at Conconada said,

"In the Nagpur Khilafat Conference Mahatma Gandhi had moved a resolution which was seconded by me, that His Majesty, the Amir of Afghanistan should not make a treaty with that Government with which we had non-cooperated, on the other hand he should make treaty with the Hindus and Mussalmans of India, so that we may pass our days in peace in one another's neighbourhood."

Maulana Mohammad Ali sent a telegram to King Amanulla as follows:—

"Don't sign the treaty. Situation in India hopeful."

Swami Sraddhanandji has thrown some light over this telegram. Writing in 'Indian Liberator' of July 29, 1926, Swamiji says,

"Maulana Mohammad Ali complained about political leaders taking him to task for

sending a wire to the Sultan of Kabul urging him not to make peace with the British Government. I too urge, that it was not a wise step that he had taken. Brother Mohammad Ali took me aside and taking out a paper from his hand bag gave a draft of a telegram to me to read. What was my astonishment, when I saw the draft of the self-same telegram in the peculiar handwriting of the father of non-violence, non-cooperation movement."

The father of the movement was Mr. Gandhi. The draft of the telegram was prepared by him. It was a shock to the Hindus of India but mark how boldly he admitted on May 4, 1921, in Young India?

"I would in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government. That is to say, I would openly tell my country-men that it would be a crime to help a Government which has lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power. I therefore do certainly hope that the Amir will not enter into any treaty with this Government."

A letter from Mr. Afhad Hussain published in 'Harijan' on the same date goes on,

"You know that Mohammad Ali has publicly declared from a platform in the Madras Presidency that he would assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he came towards India against those who have emasculated

Islam and who are in wrongful possession of the Holy places etc."

On May 10, 1921, Mr. Gandhi said, at a District Conference at Allahabad,

"I cannot understand why the Ali Brothers are going to be arrested as the rumour goes, and why I am to remain free. They have done nothing which I would not do. If they had sent a message to the Amir, I also would send one to inform the Amir, that if he came no Indian, so long as I can help it, would help the Government to drive him back. If a man is true to his religion no Afghan or any power on earth can make him transgress his religious precepts".

Only eight days after he again writes in Young India,

"What however, I would do is totally different from what I can do. I am sorry to have to confess that the movement has not yet acquired such hold on the soldier class as to embolden them to refuse assistance to the Government in time of need."

In 1921, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, a prominent Khilafat leader and now the President of the Indian National Congress said,

"There are only four circumstances under which India can be attacked from outside. Firstly, the present circumstance, under

which the British Government is ruling over us against our will and holding us as slaves. In this case any attack directed against India will not be against the country and ourselves, but against the British Government and as that Government has established its rule over the Islamic countries, and is fighting against Khilafat, no Muslim under any Islamic law has any obligation to side with it.*

Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar a prominent leader of the Congress and of the Khilafat in a meeting held at Lahore said,

"If we remove British Rule from this country and establish Swaraj and if the Afghan or other Muslims invade India, then we Muslims will oppose them and sacrifice all our sons in order to save the country from the invasion. But one thing I shall declare plainly. Listen, my dear Hindu Brothers listen very attentively ! If you put any obstacles in the path of our Tanzim movement; and do not give us our rights, we shall make common cause with Afghanistan or some other Musalman power and establish our rule in this country."†

Col. J. C. Wedgwood in his book 'The Future of the Indo-British Commonwealth' observes,

*Times of India March 14. 1925.

†Quoted in Gandhi-Muslim conspiracy by a Hindu nationalist.

"That the Amir should become the Khalifa is the wish of every raging Muslim in India. He is on their borders, almost in hand, a permanent threat to British India. Every conqueror save one has come down from the Afghan passes. India as a whole does not want what the Muslims want. The leaders of Indian thought and politics desire democracy and fear ruler, whether Ranjit Singh from the Punjab or an Amir from Kabul".

The plan was that when the Sultan of Afghanistan invaded India, the Muslim soldiers in the British Army should have rebelled against the British Government. At the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi, the Ali Brothers moved a resolution instigating the Indian soldiers to leave their services. Gandhi himself knew all this. He was a willing party to the moves of the Ali Brothers. On June 1, 1921, he accepted that the Afghans would establish their rule, if they succeeded in turning out the British, Says he in 'Young India,

"I do not believe in the Afghan invading India to embarrass the Government and being able in the event of being successful to resist the temptation of establishing a kingdom in India. In spite of such belief, I hold it to be contrary to the faith of Non-cooperator to tender unconditional assistance

to a Government which he seeks to end or mend. I would rather see India perish at the hands of the Afghans, than purchase freedom from Afghan invasion at the cost of her honour."

It is not difficult to come to the conclusion now that his starting the non-cooperation movement was only to resist the Afghans.

In spite of the promised support and advice of the Muslims and the Congress leaders, the Afghan Government failed to invade India. They knew the consequences. The moment, the treaty between the Afghan and British Governments was effected in 1922, Mr. Gandhi at once suspended his non-cooperation movement at Bardoli. He had gone on awaiting the developments between the two Governments, before he suspended his campaign of passive Resistance. However, Mr. Gandhi was wise enough not to give out the treaty between the British India and the Afghans as his excuse for suspending the movement. The 'Chauri-chaura' incident of Feb. 4, 1922, was made out the excuse. This incident was simply a lame excuse, as this was a most insignificant one when compared to the Afghan invasion, the army's rebellion and the Indians' support to invader,

which Mr. Gandhi and khilafatists expected and prayed for.

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in his autobiography writes about the late Lala Lajpat Rai as under :—

“Lalaji accused the Congress leaders of intriguing with people outside India.”

This mere mentioning of the fact by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru proves one thing beyond doubt that there were some leaders in the Congress who were opposed to Mr. Gandhiji's joining hands with the Muslims for establishing an Afghan rule in India. The only object of inviting Amir Amanulla to invade our mother-land was to establish a Muslim Empire. Consciously I should say, Mr. Gandhi joined hands with it.

The various statements, writings of Mr. Gandhi and the evidence from the official record leaves no room to doubt that the Mussalmans had the designs and plans to establish the Muslim Raj in India by their Khilafat agitation during the years 1920 to 1923. There is no doubt, too, that Mr. Gandhi and his Congress followers were also striving for the same end. He gave them the taste of blood ; and will the Muslims ever leave it ?

X

CONGRESS AND VIVISECTION OF HINDUSTAN

Wise from paist wrongs, on future peace intent
The people and the princes with one mind
From all parts move against the general fre.

“ The country will be devasted by particidal war.
The gains of centuries will be lost in a
decade. India will be the plague spot
of the world. Hence the urgency of
mobilizing opinion against the movement
of vivisecting India”.

Writes K. M. Munshi, the writer of the
book “I follow the Mahatma” who has
recently resigned from the Congress. Per-
haps Mr. Munshi seems to forget as to who
is responsible for this vivisection of our
Motherland.

From backwardness to minority, from
minority to equality such were the stages of
the Muslim awakening in India. When the
Muslims said, “ We are backward, the Cong-
ress supported their plea and pressed for
concessions for them. “ We are a minority”.
The Congress was out to placate this
minority to win them to support their fanciful
notion. But now the Muslims say “ we are

equal to anybody else in India, we want Pakistan". Alas! Congress is again supporting them.

The Muslim awakening in India has thus resulted in their demanding partition of India to enable them to establish 'Pakistan' in this land of ours. 'Ethymologically' Pakistan implies 'purified India'..... meaning the reby the land of the Muslims'. The general intention is to cut up India into two parts, in one of which only the Muslim Rule wtll exist. Mr. Jinnah autocratically asked the Indian National Congress in the course of his presidential speech at the Muslim League Session held at Lahore in 1940,

"Ask your Working Committee to discuss Pakistan Scheme, if they have not. Not only discuss it but apply your mind to it honestly, without prejudice and without silly sentiments, if there is any political wisdom or statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership".

The Congress at once proved that it is devoid of all political wisdom and statesmanship. It at once gave out through their spokesman, Babu Rajendra Parshad, their willingness to reconsider the Pakistan Scheme.

Not only that, Mr. Gandhi, the sole dictator of the Indian National Congress wrote in the 'Harijan' on April 3, 1940 a few months after Mr. Jinnah's rebuff,

"Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. We are a present at joint family. Any member may claim a division".

Again on April 13th Mr. Gandhi writes in his 'Harijan'

"As a man of non-violence, I cannot forcibly resist the proposed partition, if the Muslims of India really insist upon it. But I can never be a willing party to the vivisection. I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it. For it means the undoing of centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation. Partition means a patent untruth I must rebel against the idea that millions of Indians who were Hindus, the other day changed their nationality on adopting Islam as their religion. But that is my belief. I cannot thrust it down on the throats of the Muslims who think that they are different nation. I refuse, however, to believe that the eight crores of Muslims will say that they have nothing in common with their Hindu brethren".

Unfortunately; Mr. Gandhi's position at this stage is of an indirect acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's demands of partition.

We could have forgiven Mr. Gandhi and the Congress and would not have held them responsible for the Muslim fanaticism had it not now resulted in the proposed vivisection of our Mother-land under the slogans of self-determination; in the kidnapping of innocent Hindu girls and boys, forcible conversion in the Muslim States and in British India, in murders of Sahukars and in like echo at Dacca or at Ahmedabad every month.

Unfortunately, Mr. Gandhi still believes, as he did believe, in 1921.

The Afghans have no quarrel with India. They are a God-fearing people. I warn non-co-operators against judging the Afghans by the few savage specimens we see in Bombay or Calcutta.”.*

This Congress policy of encouraging the Muslim fanaticism has ultimately resulted in the Muslim Domination in some provinces, where no means are being left untried to reduce the Hindus to a position of

*Young India 18.5.1921.

hewers of wood and drawers of water. There is a difference of degree in Khilafat attempt to bring King Amanulla upon the throne of Delhi and the demand of Pakistan to make the Great Nizam the Ruler of the purified Land of the Muslims. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress were directly responsible then and are going to be indirectly responsible now, for all these.

The Muslim demand for Pakistan or vivisection of our Motherland is no more a cry in the wilderness or a dream as Pandit Nehru still thinks; it has become a reality, to be conceded to by the British Government. We saw it in the proposal of the War Cabinet in India brought to us by Sir Stafford Cripps a few months ago.

Even in days when attempts were made to bring the Afghan Rule in India, the idea of the vivisection of India was predominant. In 1923, Sardar Mohammad Khan Gul, president of Anjuman Islamia of Dera Ismail Khan, said in his evidence before the North-West Frontier Enquiry Committee,

“Their idea is that the Hindu Muslim unity will never become a fact, it will never become a *fait accompli*, and they think

that this province (Frontier) should remain separate as a link between Islam and the British Commonwealth. In fact, if I am asked what my opinion is—I, as a member of the Anjuman, say “We would much rather see the separation of the Hindus and the Mohammedans; 23 crores of the Hindus in the South and 8 crores of Muslims to the North. Give the whole portion of Raskumari to Agra to Hindus and from Agra to Peshawar to Mohammedans, I mean transmigration from one place to the other.”

At the session of Muslim League held at Bombay in 1924, M. Mohammad Ali suggested that the Mohammedans of the Frontier Province should have the right of self-determination in choosing between an affiliation with India and an affiliation with Kabul. He also quoted a certain Englishman who had said that, “If a straight line be drawn from Constantinople to Delhi, it will disclose a Mohammadan corridor right upto Saharanpur”.

Maulana Azad Sobhani, in his speech made on the 27th January 1939 at Sylhet said,

“The English are gradually becoming weak..... they will go away from India in the near future. So if we cannot fight the greatest enemies of Islam, the Hindus, from now

on, and make them weak, they then will not only establish Ramrajya in India but also gradually spread all over the world. It depends on the 9 crore of Indian Muslims either to strengthen or weaken them (the Hindus). So it is the essential duty of every devout muslim to fight on by joining the Muslim League so that the Hindus may not be established here and a moslem rule may be established in India as soon as the English depart."

According to C. Rahmat Ali the Founder President of Pakistan National movement, the Punjab, Afghania (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir Sindh and Baluchistan be separated from the Hindustan and be recognized as Pakistan. According to him there should be self-determination for the Muslims in Bengal, and the Usmanistan be declared as sovereign. By Usmanistan he means Hyderabad. There is another scheme put forward by Syed Abdul Latif known as 'Cultural Zone Scheme' which is not accepted by the Muslims for the reasons, that:—

"From the theoretical point of view this scheme is perfect but on the practical side it is open to serious objections as it aims at the complete withdrawal of the Muslim population from the Hindu Zones,

a factor which is detrimental to the further spread of Islam in India.” *

Muslims want that they should become the masters of those parts where they are in majority or in case of the states where the rulers are Muslims and should also see that the Muslims in the Provinces where the Hindus are in majority or in a state where a ruler happens to be a Hindu they should have all facilities, for the purpose of spreading Islam.

On the 23rd of November, 1940, Mr. Jinnah declared at New Delhi,

“The more the problem of India’s future constitution is honestly examined, the more one must be driven to the conclusion that the only solution of India’s future lies in the division of India”.

He further said therein,

“To contemplate a Government of such a vast sub-continent on the basis of one nation and united India, when we know that it is composed of nationalities is to pursue the will-o-the wisp”.

At the Muslim League Conference, held at Karachi in October 1938, he said,

“If reasons and arguments fail, our ultimate resort depends upon our inherent strength.”

* The confederacy of India by a Punjabi.

In his address at the Lahore Muslim League Session, he said:—

“A termination of the British regime would herald an entire breakup with a worse disaster than had ever taken place during the last 1000 years under the Muslims. The Muslims were only a handful when they first came to India about 800 years ago and established their Raj. The number of the Muslims at present is nine crores”.

Advising the British Government he said,

“If the British Government are really earnest and sincere about securing the peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open is to allow the major nations to separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states.”

The late Sir Akbar Hydari, a Member of Viceroy's Expanded Council some time ago paid a visit to the Frontier Province. The great Afridi leader, Mohammad Jamen Khan is reported to have told Sir Akbar Hydari,

“You are the intelligent link between the tribes on the Frontier and the Nizam's States. It is my urgent desire that the roads connecting the Frontier to the Hyderabad should be broad and straight.” *

* Quoted by A. J. Karandikar in *Gandhi-Muslim conspiracy*.

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab says,

"The Muslims of India called upon the British Parliament to replace the Government of India Act of 1935 by another which should lead the country to resolve itself into an independent confederation of culturally homogenous free States".

Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Prime Minister of Bengal says,

"If Mohammad Bin Kasim, an 18 year old lad, with 8 soldiers could conquer Sind, then surely 9 crores of Muslims can conquer the whole of India."

Allama Mashraqui says,

"To establish hegemony over the world to become rulers once again and to conquer the universe is our Religion, our will and our Ideal." *

Mohammad Lalji of Madras says,

"If we continue to organize the Muslim League, the day will undoubtedly come when we shall rule over the major portion of India even as our revered ancestors ruled over India in the past."

Presiding at the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen on 12th August 1940. at Ambejogai, he said,

* Al-i-Salah 12-8-38.

"It was Allauddin Khilji who first laid the foundation of Muslim triumph in the Deccan. The Muslims have ruled the Deccan since then for the last 300 years and will continue to rule for 6,000 years more. I wish to remind you of this your forgotten glory. The Muslims have shed their blood for establishing this Raj. This Raj belongs not only to the Nizam alone. The 15 lakhs of Mussalmans in the Deccan are connected with H. E. H. the Nizam as the body with the soul together. Without the body the soul will go to the wilderness. As we are inseparable from H. E. H. the Nizam, so we the 10 Lakhs of Mussalmans in Hyderabad are rulers of the Deccan. The Hindus are a conquered people. We are ever ready to extend the hand of friendship to them. We will live with them in amity. We have sympathy for their welfare. But Oh, Mussalmans, you are the rulers and they are the ruled. You should never forget this relationship. We should not allow the Hindus or even the Government in this State, to derogate in the least the status and authority of the Mussalmans".

This is what the Muslims of India feel and declare. The attitude of the Indian National Congress now particularly demands attention. Mr. Mantt Reddy, a prominent Congressman of South India, said on the 24th October 1940.

"That the Andhras of Madras Presidency are prepared to come under the rule of H.E.H. the Nizam, if he agreed to become a constitutional monarch".

We have already quoted above what Mr. Gandhi, the great dictator of the Congress thinks about the scheme. He is prepared to give the right of self-determination to the Muslims and also cannot prevent them, if they want division. On October 13, 1940, he again said,.....

"But if you ask me in advance, whether I would face anarchy in preference to foreign orderly rule, either British or any other, I would unhesitatingly plump for anarchy, say the rule of the Nizam supported by the Chiefs become feudatory to him or supported by the border Muslim tribes. In my estimation it will be cent percent domestic. It will be home rule, though far, far from a self rule or Swaraj" * .

So far Mr. Gandhi is concerned, if there is no Amanulla, at present he is prepared to accept Nizam to be the ruler of India.

Very recently Mr. Raja Gopalachari, the right hand of Mahatma, an ex-Premier of Madras, has publicly taken upon himself to espouse the cause of Pakistan—the vivisection

* The Harijan.

of India. On April 23, 1942, in the course of a resolution, the Madras Congress Party thus advises the Indian National Congress :—

“In as much as the Muslim League has insisted on the recognition of the right of separation of certain areas from the United India upon the ascertainment of the wishes of the people of such areas as a condition precedent to a United National action at this moment of grave national danger, this party is of the opinion and recommends to the All India Congress committee, to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge Muslim League's claim of separation...”.

The All India Congress Committee at Allahabad rejected the resolution of C. Rajgopalachari. C. Rajgopalachari resigned to further the cause of the Pakistan. His move may be bold and clear but is full of dangerous consequences. The Muslims have now begun from this condition of Pakistan which is now the first demand and not the last one. Mr. Jinnah during his recent Lahore tour says so emphatically,

“We must have Pakistan which is the life and death question for us. We want to rule over the North-Western and Eastern zones which are our home land.”*

*Tribune Lahore Nov. 24 1942.

The attitude of the Congressite Muslims is very interesting. Is Maulana Azad's offer to the Muslim League to appoint its five representatives to meet five representatives of the Congress is any way less mischievous than the Madras Resolution? Is he not thereby accepting the claim of the Muslim League for 50-50 representation. Has he not prevented the deletion of the clause from the official resolution of the Congress which gives right to any territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union? The Madras Resolution has brought Mr. Asaf Ali in his true colours. He at once became the supporter of Pakistan. Mr. K. M. Ashraf and Sajjad Zaheer, members of the All India Congress Committee and Mian Iftakharuddin and Khan Ali Gul Khan, presidents of their respective Provincial Congress Committees, voted in favour of Pakistan. The support of the Congress Presidents of the Punjab and the Frontier mean that they are one with Mr. Jinnah from the core of their hearts. Dr. Syed Mahmud too joins issue with Rajagopalachari.

The rejection of this by the Congress means nothing when we find the infamous clause

in the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee held at Delhi saying,

“Nevertheless, the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will.”

Why blame Rajagopalachari, the whole Congress is responsible for this treachery to the cause of the Indian Unification. The Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in an interview to the Associated Press on May 12th, 1942 recalled the question of Federation when it came at Ramgarh and the Congress Working Committee discussed it.

“We reached the decision that if the majority in a particular province did not like to join the Federation, they had a right to remain out”.

We need not pick up Mr. Rajagopalacharya or some other Congressman to blame him for the offer of Pakistan, the entire Congress is a diseased limb of the Indian Political organization which, unless chopped off at the earliest possible moment, would poison the entire body. Since the day the organization came into being, it had been conspiring against the Hindus.

To deny the *Hinduness* is the first essential of the Congress membership. Mr. Rajgopalachari's offer is the logical outcome of the Congress policy which has consistently been pursued for the last half a century or so. It would be doing an injustice to Raja ji to single him out for this condemnation, for what he has done is simply the revelation of the mine that was so secretly and so systematically prepared by Gandhiji and his pro-Muslim followers and the Congress.

Let us examine a statement of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru who professes to oppose Mr. Rajgopalacharya's cry of Pakistan. Analyse every word of his and try to make out the difference if there is any? The Associated Press of India reports,

"Pandit Nehru pointed out that he was personally against the vivisection of India and was rather thinking of bringing about federation of India, China, Iran and Afghanistan. He had come to the conclusion that India should never be divided and that he would fight the separation issue with all the power he could command. But he made it perfectly clear that they could not forcibly keep another man with them. If the majority of the people in a

particular territorial unit wanted separation, it could not be withheld from them."

Barrister M. L. Chowla of Lahore writing in his well-known 'current commentary' in the Tribune says."

"Pt. Nehru is opposed to Mr. Rajgopalachariar's suggestion that the Moslem League's demand for separation should be recognised. He is not prepared to give it a trial. But he says at the same time that he cannot think of compelling any community to live under any form of Government. How does he reconcile these statements? If India's unity is sacred and inviolable, there can be no question of entertaining the demand for separation of any community. If India's unity is not sacred and inviolable, there can be no question of opposing the proposal for recognition of the principle of separation, unless (a) there are some other general grounds for the opposition, or (b) it should be opposed particularly because it is not likely to achieve the specific object that its protagonists have in view. The contradiction should be removed and the other grounds, if any, stated."

Maulana Azad, the Congress President, did not find anything dangerous in the move of Mr. Rajgopalacharya. He differs with the procedure. Perhaps this was mainly the ground why the All-India Congress Committee rejected its Pakistan Resolution. At the moment the

Congress Committee was getting divided on the issue of Madras resolution, the Congress President made a suggestion that was equally harmful, if not more.

“The procedure adopted by Mr. Rajgopalchari was wrong”, observed Mr. Azad, “the right procedure would be to get, the representatives of both the organizations to discuss the question and come to an agreement.”

The Congress has virtually accepted Pakistan. With all the hypocritical coverings that the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee gives to the Congress Leaders, it will accept Pakistan even as it accepted the Communal Award. None can better be cited than the Mahatma himself. Writing on the 6th April, 1940, Gandhi ji said,

“Muslims will be entitled to dictate their own terms. Unless the rest of India wishes to engage in internal patricide, others will have to submit to the Muslim dictation. I know no non-violent method of compelling obedience of eight crores of Muslims to the will of the rest of India, however powerful a majority the rest may represent. The Muslims must have the same right of self-determination that the rest of India has. We are at present a joint family, any member may claim division”.*

*Harijan.

The attitude of the British Government is clear as is apparent from the proposals which were put forward by Sir Stafford Cripps. They are prepared to divide India into water tight compartments in order to hold their sway by the principle of the balance of power. The right of self-determination to the Muslims is being conceded to. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Shastri says :—

“Referring to the optimists who thought that the partitioning of India would bring about perpetual brotherhood and cordiality between the Major communities, it was a modern discovery that to establish perfect cordiality, the thing to do was to break up. It was as good as breaking up marriages, as the parties might become more friendly afterwards”.

The Modern British Statesmen seem to have forgotten what Lord Hardinge wrote in a private letter on September 12, 1846

“This entrance (Khyber Pass) into India, has always been the high road taken by every invader. A Hindu Government (referring the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) acting as our advance-guard had for thirty years barred this entrance against all invaders. I am satisfied that the Mohammadan population will be generally ready to make a common cause against the British Power whenever any Afghan or Persian intrigue

may afford the opportunity. This restless feeling was felt in the Deccan and to allow a Mohammadan power to occupy the Doabs between the Khyber Pass and the Sutlaj, would excite and revive Mussalman hopes throughout India. It is not desirable anywhere within our Indian Empire but to permit it again to rear its head on our most vulnerable frontier and in contact with the Mussalmans of Central Asia, it would be a perpetual source of anxiety to the Government."

When we conclude that the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha can never unite, it is owing to the fundamental differences, explained in the previous chapters. It is mostly for the reason that the Congress tried to establish 'Muslim Raj' in 1924 and Pakistan in 1942 while the Hindu Mahasabha made a stern determination to fight the two, the Congress and the Muslim-League together. Success or failure of the Hindu Mahasabha depends upon the backing of the Hindus of the Hindustan as a whole. But mark the Hindu Mahasabha's resolve as against the Congress to concede Pakistan to the Muslims. The last resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha was passed on the day of the Anti-Pakistan celebrations on the 10th of May 1942 throughout India. An extract of the resolution reads as under :—

"We, Hindus, take up, therefore, a solemn vow to-day that we will resist, defy and defeat any attempt on the part of the Moslems to carve out any independent Pakistan Federation by breaking up this unity of the Hindustan as an integral Nation and a centralised state".

Even long before the Hindu Mahasabha as an organization came into existence, the determination of our leaders who actually established the 'Hindu Raj' in the Hindusthan deserves special attention. Veer V. D. Savarkar quotes Madhao Rao's letter written to his uncle regarding the proposal to partition the kingdom in Hindu-Pad-Padshai. Madhao Rao asks :—

"You talk of partitioning this realm. Is it a private and personal property? Thousands have worked for it to render it so great, so glorious. The power of the state must remain concentrated in one guiding hand. But how can this kingdom continue to maintain its greatness and strength when it gets divided and parcelled out as personal effects are".

But mark the latest inclinations of Mr. Gandhi which he on August 8, 1942 at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay, said :—

"If the entire Muslims are in favour of Pakistan then of course nobody can prevent them

from having it. The Hindus cannot coerce the Muslims.....Let the issue be decided by a tribunal and let us all abide by the verdict of the tribunal.....I have no mental reservation on the issue of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot be away from Hindusthan. Let both and all of us strive for the attainment of freedom of India.....I wholeheartedly endorse the Maulana Sahib's offer to the British that India be handed over to any community. I would not be sorry if the authority is transferred to the Muslim masses".*

Will the Hindus accept the advice given by Mr. Gandhi who is just behaving as Jaichand of Kanauj once did and invited Mohammad of Gor. Will the Hindu heart ever welcome that this land of the Hindus be converted into the Muslim Pakistan. Whatever may be the sacrifices, we Hindus are called upon to make, we shall never tolerate the Muslim Rule in India.

XI. OUR STATES.

We have yet another vital difference with the Congress regarding its attitude towards the Indian States. Upto the Haripura Session the Congress policy as declared by one of its resolutions was "Non-Intervention in States' affairs" but this resolution was still on record when Mr. Gandhi started the agitation in Rajkot and made a petty state a problem of an All India importance. Again the late Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj was deputed to start agitation in Jaipur and Mr. Pattabhai Sitarammya in Travancore. In various other States Praja Parishads and Prajamandals were established to follow the lead given by their Leaders. The idea under lying these agitations was to demand, the establishment of Parliamentary governments in order that the Congress party may form a majority in the Federal Legislature.

One most important point worthy of our note is that the Congress agitation was only confined to the Hindu States. When the Hindu Mahasabha started their Civil Resistance Cam-

paign in Hyderabad, the Congress and Mr. Gandhi opposed it. They dictatorially anathematised the Civil Resistance movement of the Hindu Mahasabha as communal and anti-national. What reasons did the Congress have to oppose it? The Congress demanded political reform in the states; was not Hyderabad the biggest yet the most autocratically administered state? Did not the Congress know that the very existence of the Hindus in Hyderabad was at stake? Their lives were made miserable only because they happened to profess a religion different from that of the ruler. They were not permitted to take out processions on the occasions of their religious festivals ; they were not permitted to play music in their houses and even in the temples. Restrictions were imposed also on use by them of radio and gramophone. Dussehra, Ganesh Chaturthi, Rama Nawmi could not be observed by the Hindus, if these days happened to coincide with any Muslim festival. They were not permitted to erect or repair their temples. The Nizam's Govt. it is reported to have encouraged conversion and almost all the departments were ordered to send a weekly diary showing as to how

many Hindus were converted in jails, schools and hospitals.

The great Mr. Gandhi, the all powerful dictator of the Indian National Congress in the days of Hyderabad Dharmayudha, wrote a letter to Khwaja Hassan Nizami in reply to his two letters. One of the Khawja's letters was written in English, copies of which were sent to the Viceroy, Mr. Jinnah and Subhas Babu as well. Gandhi ji in his reply to Khawaja Sahib called the Hyderabad Dharamyudha 'poison' and suggested that it should be suppressed by all possible means. Gandhi ji admitted in his letter that he was doing all that was possible for him, to help the Nizam.

There are several Muslim states in India. The same is the woeful tale in Bhopal, Bahawalpur, and almost every other Muslim State. The majority of the Muslim states are predominantly populated by the Hindus. The Congress never moves a little finger to protect their lives or to demand constitutional Governments while in Rajkot, the whole of the Indian Ocean was set on fire in the tiny cup of Veerwala.

This agitation of the Congress only in the Hindu States has always been viewed with

suspicion by the Hindu Mahasabha; and at Nagpur session they passed the following resolution :—

“The Hindu Mahasabha declares that the Congress policy of coercion and interference in the internal administration of the Indian States under the plausible slogans of responsible Government, is not genuine, in as much as the Congress activities in the matter are restricted to and concentrated only in the Hindu States to the practical exclusion of the Muslim States, like Hyderabad, Bhopal, Bahawalpur, Rampur, Malerkotla, etc., and, therefore, it declares that such activities of the Congress are of the nature of harassment and it is nothing short of abuse of its power to instigate trouble, particularly in the case of such advanced and well governed Hindu States as Travancore, Mysore, Baroda, etc.,

Veer V. D. Savarkar immediately issued a statement declaring,

“That the campaign of the Congress in the Hindu States is anti-Hindu and mischievous. In view of this policy, the Mahasabha cannot be a party to the campaign which the Congress seeks to launch against the Hindu States alone, on flimsy grounds and deprecates it as inopportune, anti-Hindu and mischievous in as much as it deliberately overlooks the

mal-administration and the atrocious persecution to which the Hindus are subjected to in Muslim States and dare not raise a finger against them.”

Shri Bhai Parmanandji boldly opposed the Congress agitation in Jaipur. He himself paid a visit there and addressed a crowded meeting. His papers ‘The Daily Hindu’ and the ‘Hindu Outlook’ took up the cause of Jaipur Darbar and most probably these were the only papers in India to have stood by the Jaipur Darbar in time of its dire necessity. On return from Jaipur Bhai Parmanand cleared the Mahasabha standpoint in these words ;

“The Congress ought to understand one thing that there is a fundamental difference between the policy pursued by the Congress and that pursued by the Hindu Mahasabha We know perfectly well that in their struggle the Congress have committed many a blunder. While accepting and working the Constitution inaugurated by the British Govt., they have at the same time been persistently opposing the Government and talking of wrecking the constitution. Its natural result has been that the Government had to lean on the other party for support. Thus communalism was rooted deep in the Constitution and the Communal Award was its outcome. Similarly, we find now that the Congress

is going to adopt the same policy of opposition to the princes in States and it will naturally result in the princes seeking support from the Muslims. Thus with the advent of the Congress Swaraj in the States the solidarity of the Hindus would be shattered to pieces. I believe that the Hindu States are the back-bone of the Hindu nation, and the hostile propaganda and agitation of the Congress is another Himalayan blunder".

Mr. Gandhi, the so-called born democrat once advised the King of Kashmir that if the Hindu King of Kashmir could not satisfy and allay the discontent of the Muslims who formed 85 percent of his subjects, he had no moral right to rule but should forthwith abdicate and retire to Kashi. We would not have criticised Mr. Gandhi or the Congress, if he could have given a similar advice to the Nizam of Hyderabad. On the other hand a Congress leader of South India, Mr. Koti Reddy is reported to have said on the 29th Oct. 1940, that the Andhras of Madras presidency were prepared to come under the rule of H.E.H the Nizam. No Congress man dare advise the Nizam to abdicate and retire to Mecca. On the contrary Mr. Gandhi was prepared to accept the great Nizam as the ruler of Hindustan by his statement dated

Oct. 13, 1940 saying that the rule of Nizam will be cent per cent domestic. According to him it will be home rule. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru once visited Srinagar. Kashmiri Pandits gave him an address of welcome not knowing the retort that they were going to receive. Pt. Nehru replied to the welcome address,

"In Kashmir as in British India there is a tug of war over the majority and minority questions. The Kashmiri Pandits form 5% of the Kashmir population and even if safeguards be given they might get 10%. The minorities could never be turned into majorities even with all the safeguards."

Unfortunately Pt. Nehru never gave such advice to the Muslims of Hyderabad or Bhopal.

Mr. Gandhi once declared that there is Ram Rajya in Bhopal but has he ever paid such compliments to any Hindu ruler. Mr. Nehru believes that the fight in the states is also a fight against the British Imperialism. Addressing the Faizpur Session of the Indian National Congress in 1936, Pt. Nehru said,

"We cannot recognize those old settlements of more than a hundred years ago as permanent and unchanging. The Indian States will have to fit into the

scheme of a free India and their peoples must have, as the Congress has declared, the same personal, civil and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India”.

Sending a message to the Rajputana States' peoples' convention held at Beawar on December 29, 1933 Pt. Nehru said,

“The Indian States' system as it exists today must go root and branch.....These loom large before you but they are after all the inevitable products of the system as it exists today. Therefore I hope you will frame your objective clearly and uncompromisingly and draw up your programme accordingly”.*

Mahatma Gandhi writing regarding the the political position of the princes under the caption 'Good and Bad' in the 'Harijan' dated November 4, 1940, said,

“Many of them (Princes) are an imperial creation and sustained for imperial interest. British power is the overlord without whom the princes cannot breathe”.

And Again on August, 9, 1942, during his speech at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee, Gandhiji observes,

“They are the creation of the British power. Their number may be two or more, They are crea-

*Jawahar Lal Nehru Recent Essays and Writings,

ted by the ruling power, as you know, to create differences between Indian India and the British India...The Congress claims to represent them as well. The policy which the Congress adopted towards the states was drawn up at my instance.”*

The Congress position as is evident from what has been quoted above is that it is against the existence of the States and the moment power goes to this party, the life of these States will be in danger of effacement. We are in favour of the States as the majority of them are Hindu states. We want that their existence should continue, not because we do not want the prosperity of the subjects of the States but on the other hand we wish ‘Ram Rajya’ in every Hindu State and the subjects of the States should have their full share in the administration and the Princes should sincerely take care of their subjects.

We believe, according to Shri Bhai Parmanandji,

“That the princes are the flesh of our flesh and the most essential part of our body politic. I wish that their administration should be so improved that none can raise a finger against them.”

We wish that our Hindu princes should be worshipped by their subjects as they are in

the words of H. E. Lord Limlithgow the Viceroy,

“The princes themselves are primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage. How often has it not been impressed on the princes of India by those who have their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their states and for their own happiness and peace of mind.”

The Indian States are the survivals of former dynasties and powers which somehow or other retained their existence. Some of them are those which established practical independence when the Moghal Emperors still reigned. Many are Bundela and Rajput States of Central India which had been engaged for centuries in conflict with the Moghals and other Muslim invaders and came out successful. Still others were carved out during the short periods of Maharatta domination, by great Hindu heroes, the followers of Shivaji.

There are over 600 states in India varying in size and population from Hyderabad which covers 1,06,618 square miles with a population of over 15 million and an annual revenue of 8 crore of rupees to a state Balhari having a

population of 27 souls and annual revenue of 80 rupees. All the States cover an area of 5,98,138 square miles, about two fifths of the total area of the whole of India.

The number of Hindu States is about 500. Over eight million Muslims live under Hindu rulers whereas over fifteen million Hindus live in states governed by Muslim rulers. There are some states which are religiously and nationally dear to the Hindu. The existence of such states reminds us of our past. To abolish these states as Congress proposes to do is to break with the very past of a great nation. If all the States are rubbed off from the map of India and whatever little yellow colour is left is made red, the Hindus of those states are only to become slaves of the Imperialism as we in British India are. Why should the Congress forget this?

Mr. Gandhi's argument that the princes are the creation of British Imperialism is nothing but an utter negation of historical facts. It is the British India which is the creation of British Imperialism and not the Indian India—the States. The very name British India signifies India made by the Britishers and

Indian India preserved by the Indians. It was not a question of choice : rather it was the helplessness of the Britishers that they were not able to apply the 'doctrine of lapse' any further in the case of existing states. It was perhaps the resistance showed to the British at the time of 1857 mutiny that kept and saved the states. Some yellow spots were left on the map of India and they are still yellow not because the British wanted this but because they remained yellow inspite of the red brush of the British.

Mr. Gandhi ought to know that most of the present Rajput states such as Jaipur, Jodhpur, Mewar, Bikaner, etc. existed as far back as 5th or the 6th century A. D.—the time,—when the Britishers were themselves ruled by foreigners. The Maharatta States such as Gwalior, Baroda, Indore, Kolhapur, etc., were established by the early part of the 18th century when India had not heard of the British Government, and the East India Trading Company was then begging for favours to carry on its trade in India. The Sikh States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha in the Punjab remind us of our great Sikh Empire and its great General Hari Singh Nalva.

These petty Sikh States also tell us as to how Bir Beragi Banda Bahadur, the great hero saved and served the Hindu Dharama and laid the foundations of Hindu Rajya. The States of Cochin, Travancore, and Mysore give us glimpses of our great Vijyanagar Empire. Thairumalu Naik the Ruler of Madura bestowed glory on the city of Madura with stately and

homely buildings. He ruled from Pudukeddah to Travancore.

The idea now taken up by the Congress, of converting yellow India into red ones brought tears in the eyes of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Major B. D. Basu in the introduction to his book 'Rise of the Christian Power in India', wrote :

"It is said that once Maharaja Ranjit Singh was shown the map of India by one of the Christian officers. Ranjit Singh was an illiterate sovereign. He did not understand why the map was coloured red, green yellow etc. He requested the Christian officer to explain to him the meaning of the different colourings in the map. The officer was glad enough to do so. He explained that the red colour represented the territories of India which had passed into the hands of the Christian merchants of England constituting the East India Company. Ranjit Singh immediately exclaimed सब लाल हो जायगा (i.e. the whole map of India would become red-coloured). There was a ring of prophecy in his exclamation. Hardly twenty years had passed after his death when his words came to be verified to the very letter; for the Christian merchants became the masters of almost of the whole of India and the map of the country was coloured red all over."

H. H. The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Servants of the Hindus' Society in March 1940, said,

"Referring to a suggestion made elsewhere that the States were the creation of British bayonets it was just the contrary. It was British India, as the very name showed, that was created by British bayonets. The Princes have succeeded to keep some portion of the country yellow. Why do you want to turn it into red ? I am sure you do not like red colour which is the emblem of Bolshevism. Let us make the whole of India yellow.....The Indian States have existed so long, and they will continue to exist. We think we have passed our worst and at least Indian India is wanted by British India to come to its aid."

The unity between India and the British India is the cherished desire of every patriot in India. Do the princes stand in the way of a United India? The Maharaja of Bikaner at the first Round Table Conference said,

"It is sometimes said there are two Indias, British India and the Indian India under the rule of her own Princes. That is true in a political sense; but India is a single geographical unit and we are all members of it. We the Princes, are Indians.....we have our roots deep down in her historical past, we are the race of the soil. Everything

which tends to the honour and prosperity of India has for us a vital concern. Everything which retards her policy and shakes the inviolability of her institutions retards our own growth and lowers our stature."

If the Muslims of India can make the Nizam so powerful as to suggest him to be the Emperor of India (to which proposal Mr. Gandhi agrees too) there can be a ruler among the Hindu princes as well who can become more powerful if backed by the Hindus of the British India and the states to lead India to unity and independence. There still stands Nepal, unassailed and unconquered as the pride of Hindustan.

The treaties of the British Government with Indian States are on the following lines. We reproduce below the treaty with Udaipur dated 13th January, 1818 :—

"The Maharana of Udaipur shall always be absolute ruler over his own country, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality".

Similar are the terms with all the states which prove one thing that the princes are to enjoy all the sovereign powers so far as the internal administration of the states is concerned. The value of honouring the treaty depends upon the weakness or the strength of the ruler backed up by the people of his State.

The Indian States have lost the "character of independence not through any epoch-making declaration of British Sovereignty, but by a gradual change in the policy pursued towards them by the British Government".

Some of the princes have been deposed for the faults which may be found everywhere and anywhere. But has the Government ever touched a Muslim ruler? I think not. The Muslim Rulers have at their back the support of the Muslims of their State as well as rest of India. During the Hyderabad Dharma Yudha, "Hyderabad day" was celebrated throughout India. Processions were taken out. On that very day in more than two dozen places Hindu-Muslim riots took place, as Muslims could not tolerate any demonstration against the Nizam of Hyderabad. What have the Muslims of Delhi to do with Hyderabad? Still they were prepared to sacrifice themselves for the honour of His Exalted Highness. The secret lies in the fact that Muslims are with their Muslim princes and they consider them as the back-bone of Islam. We Hindus as influenced by the "democratic" notions of the Congress take them as unnecessary burdens and the creatures of British Imperialism. The Muslim princes encourage

and patronize the Muslim movements in British India while no Hindu Prince dares do it.

Whatever may be the prerogatives of our Princes, whatever the interference of the political Department may be, one fact is clear as broad day light that their powers are greater than once enjoyed by the Congress Ministers and prime Ministers during the days when Congress ruled over seven provinces. The real value of the Congress Governments in the seven Provinces could be judged from the fact that the Governors could without any hesitation dismiss the Congress Cabinets. Why did they accept office under the Government of India, when all the powers were with the Viceroy and the Governor? If the Congress fights for getting more a composite government which they call under a dignified name of National Government in India (we wish them success) accepting offices and getting all power to rule over India, why should the Maharaja of Nawanagar, of Scindhia, Travancore or Panna be dispossessed of power while the Congress leaders go out of their way to get. The princes have their powers not on the sufferance of the British Government, but

it was the word of their fore-fathers that craved their destinies for them. Whatever remaining strength that counts to shape the further of our political destiny could only be found in the States alone.

We definitely believe that it is the princes who will be one of these saviours of Hindudom and Hindusthan. We should try our best of course to approach the princes to improve their administrations, lower their personal expenses, get united and prove themselves as ideal individuals. They are the born and natural leaders and we must bow before them. The basis of our support to the princes is that their existence remind us of our past history and of glories of Hinduism and they are pledged to save Dharma at the hour of crisis. Maharaja Jam Sahib, of Nawanagar says,

“Today Hinduism, like the Indian States is attacked from within and without but the princes will make sacrifices and stem the tide whatever may have been their history. The Rajputs have always put their Dharma first. We are Hindus and whenever Hinduism is threatened, neither I nor my brother princes can remain behind in its defence.” *

* The Hindu Outlook dated March 21, 1940.

Says the Maharaja of Panna,

"A race has a living contact with her past heroes, and can easily rise to her full stature. The sentiment of hero-worship not only connects the past with the present, but makes the future more glorious than the past. The task of Jati Sanghatan which today looks like a well-nigh impossibility, will immediately be realised as soon as we succeed in reminding our people that their ancestors were great heroes to whom no sacrifice was too great in the cause of Dharma."*

Whatever Hinduism is, it is the safer in Hindu States. No cow would be sacrificed in a Hindu State while even in the Congress rule, they could not save the cow in spite of old principles of Mr. Gandhi.

"That in the safety of the cows lies the freedom of India."

Our language, our history and all that is dear to our heart are comparatively safer in the Hindu States. Another vital necessity of the existence of Hindu States lies in a certain eventuality. A time may come, when the grip of Britishers on our country may lessen. No one can foretell when such an occasion may arise in the history of our

*The Hindu Outlook dated May 11, 1940

nation. If we take for argument's sake such an eventuality, what will be the state of affairs in the British India? The anarchy of at least the Hindu Muslim riots is inevitable. The Muslims are organized and aggressive. There are Red Shirts, Khudai Khidmatgars, Khaksars, Muslim League Volunteers, Mustafa Kamal Pasha corps and various others, well trained and organized ostensibly for defence. Leaving aside the Muslim Provinces, in Hindu majority provinces like U. P., where the Muslim form only 14 per cent of the population, the police is constituted of 86 per cent of Muslims. In the army, in 1921, Muslims were 24%, in 1930, Muslim percentage was raised to 30% and in 1940, the percentage of Muslims in the Indian Army had been raised to 60%.

In the event of Britishers leaving the shores of India, (for argument's sake) the Pathans of Kabul or any other foreign power may invade this country and with the help of Muslim organised volunteers, Muslim police and 60% of Muslim army jeopardise the safety of Hindusthan. Let us not remain in a fool's paradise. All these forces will join in the name of Islam.

External danger apart, even in the case of internal anarchy the Hindus of British India have become impotent owing to the preachings of the Non-violence of Mr. Gandhi and are disorganized and unprepared. Won't we see the repetition of Ahmedabad and Dacca ?

Who will protect us then ? I feel that in case the Hindu princes are loved and supported by the Hindus of British India, they will rise to the occasion and would save the Hindus of British India at least in their neighbouring places. What happened at Dacca ? Thousands of Hindus, men, women, and children fled and got protection in Tripura. The Ruler of Tripura kept them at the state expense for months together giving them all the necessities of life. The Hindu princes have got some organized police, some army, some trained volunteers some military ammunitions coupled with the memory of the past. Big states can even possess the technological means for waging modern wars and save this country from foreign invaders. But if the princely order is abolished, why should the princes fight for the Hindus of the British India. Only for

getting their votes under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi or his Congress for their own abolition and extinction? Veer Savarkar while replying to Gandhiji to his article under the caption "Hyderabad" says,

"The foremost of the Hindu princes have realised that if Hindudom falls, the Hindu states too must fall with it. As defenders of Hindu faith and Hindu honour they form the reserve forces of Hindudom, organised centres of Hindu strength which even today will outweigh by far the utmost, which a Hyderabad here or a Bhopal there can do to spite the Hindu cause. From Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Dewas, Baroda to Kohlapur it is almost an unbroken chain of Hindu Military camps of organised Hindu Governments which animated by the new Hindu spirit, cannot but come forward in their own interests as well as those of Hindudom as a whole to defend the Hindu cause. Even Scindia alone, other things being equal, can smash up the Nizam on any new Udgir or Kharda field he chooses. Pressed by these overwhelming Hindu forces from the North and those of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin in the South, the poor Nizam will simply be sandwiched between them and instead of winning back the ceded districts will have, on the contrary to cede whatever districts he already possesses today. There will not be left a trace of

Muslim Rule from the Seas in the South to the Jamna in the North".*

Hindus from very ancient times revere the idea of kingship. The author of the "Grave Danger to the Hindus" writes,

"There is no other country in the whole world, wherein Kings of old, who had ruled the country 3000 or 4000 years ago are still existent in their decadance with some traces of their old tradition, except in our motherland..... High, noble and difficult were the ideals placed before our Kshatrias. Did not Maharaja Dasratha send away his beloved children to the forest at the demand of a Maharishi ? Did not another Maharaja Sibi cut off pieces after pieces of flesh from his body and was even prepared to sacrifice his whole body to save a dove from a kite ? Did not a great Hindu Chola Ruler allow his car to run over his own son as the son had crushed with his car the calf of a cow ? Did not another Hindu Pandya Ruler leave off his mortal coil as soon as he found that he had ordered the execution of the husband of a Chosti woman without proper enquiry ?

With the fall of our glorious past, the Hindu Rulers have fallen too. We believe that to the dark clouds of India's slavery, poverty and degradation there is only one silver lining. the existence of Hindu princes.

*Gandhi-Muslim Conspiracy.

Perhaps the reason of the slumbering sleep of our Hindu princes is that they have forgotten their glorious past and high ideal bequeathed to them by their forbears.

The urgent reform that our princes need are:—The dedication of the powers of the body and soul, to protect their people by the strict administration of justice, increased expenditure on advancing knowledge and spreading education, improvement of economic condition encouragement of hero worship in their states and making up of the differences existing among themselves to make common cause in the service of Hindudom.

All these reforms can be the made only if we approach with love that the people cherish towards their rulers. You can't undo the wrong by following another wrong. If a fly troubles you and sits on your nose, you cannot possibly cut the nose to avoid the fly. It is for us the Hindus to remind the princes of their old past and to awaken them from their lethargy, in order that they may lead us to victory and glory.

XII

SELF-ABNEGATION.

“ Subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most patent causes of national deterioration.”

Over two hundred years of the British domination of India and over 800 years of the Muslim Rule have made the Hindus forget that they were ever independent and free. They have become so accustomed to slavery that in the words of an Urdu Poet :—

सदियां गुजरी हैं रंज व गम सहते हुए,
राम सी आती है इसे अपना वतन कहते हुए ।

“ Centuries have passed that we have been subjected so much to adversity and afflictions that we feel ashamed of calling this land as ours ”.

Perhaps this ‘Self-abnegation in Politics’ practised by the Hindus is the result of this deterioration. The longer the period of the foreign rule, the quicker waxes our deterioration. This will account for our self-abnegation in Politics, self-obliteration, or self-effacement or self-immolation.

The Hindus have forgotten that they once ruled a vast country and walked about with their heads erect in this very land which is overran by an alien race and an alien army. They have forgotten their very inheritance. They have grown incapable of appreciating that philosophers, soldiers and Kings of untarnished record and achievements belonged to this nation, of which they are now so indifferent and unworthy members to-day! They have forgotten to view with pride the remarkable achievements of our ancestors in the fields of religion, philosophy, art, science and literature during the first dawn of civilisation. In every field of activity the Hindu achievements have been worthy of the greatest respect and yet the Hindus to-day do not look upon their nation as the other living and prosperous nations in the world look upon themselves.

The Hindu nation and the Hindutva were great and unassailable. Perhaps nobody denies the unique and glorious part that the Hindus played in the history of the world. It is universally admitted that when the countries which are now considered highly civilized and from which now springs the flow of education,

knowledge, science, and all important "isms" were peopled by savages revelling in their primeval nudity in jungles while this great land of Bharatvarsha was far advanced in glory and civilization. While many of the nations that are now predominant were in a barbarous state and while they were hanging by tails from tree to tree, the Hindus developed a philosophy, a literature, a science and an art which are yet the pride of the whole world.

Alexander, the great, when he decided to invade the Hindustan, it is said, called a meeting of the nobles, generals and the gentry of Macadon and told them that he was going to conquer the farfamed land of civilisation—the Hindusthan, and asked as to what should he bring for his people from that country. The reply was striking, "Bring us a Brahmin to give us learning and education". This was the opinion of the Greeks, the harbingers of thought and culture in the west. The Hindusthan was considered by all peoples then as the most civilized country in the world. History tells us that Alexander did come to conquer India and also persuaded a Brahmin Kalyan Swami, known as Kalanus in Greek to accom-

pany him to his country, but neither could he conquer India nor reach his land with the Brahmin for Kalanus died in the way near Iran.

Lord Curzon, who cannot be accused of sympathy with Indian aspiration, said in his address at the Delhi Durbar in 1911 :

“ Powerful Empires existed and flourished here, while the Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods and while the British Colonies weere still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark on the history, the philosophy and religion of mankind, than any other territorial unit in the universe ”.

Professor Max Muller in his well-known Book ‘What India has to teach us’ says :—

“ If I were asked under what sky the human mind has more fully developed some of its choicest gifts ; has thought most deeply on the problems of life, and has found solution of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India ; if I were to ask myself how we here in Europe may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal, in fact more truly human, again I should point to India.....If I were to ask myself from what literature

we, in Europe, who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks and the Romans, and of our Semitic race, the Jews, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal in fact, more truly human.....a life not for this life only but a transfigured and eternal lifeI should point to India.”

Louis Jaccolloit so earnestly hopes and prays in the best interest of the world :—

“Soil of Ancient India”. Cradle of humanity?
 Hail Hail? Venerable and efficient nurse,
 whom centuries of brutal invasions have
 not yet buried under the dust of oblivion!
 Hail Fatherland of faith, of love, of Poetry,
 of Science! May we hail a revival of thy
 past in our western future?

Schoppenhauer, the great German Philosopher, once said,

“Upanishads are the solace of my life, and they will be the solace of my death.”

Swami Vivekananda, the Prophet of Hinduism looked upon Aryavarta and his mission thus :

“This is the ancient land where wisdom had made its home before it went to any other country. Where first arose the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the existence

of an immanent God in nature and man and whence like tidal waves spirituality and philosophy have again and again rushed out and deluged the world.”

Romain Rolland goes a step further saying :—

“India’s calm and ample Metaphysics, her conceptions of the universe, her social organization, perfect in its own time and still capable of adapting itself to the rhythm of the new time, the isolation that she has given to the problems of women, family love, marriage, the magnificent revelation of her art are indeed grand.

“Each thing in its place, each being fulfilling its functions and all associated in the Divine concert, making with their various voices and even dissonances the most exquisite harmony.”

The Hindusthan, as one looks through the ages, appears as a maker of Civilization and Culture. On the banks of the seven rivers of the Northern India were chanted the Hymns of the Rigveda, the earliest book of the Aryan Race and of Humanity.

Writes the Great Saint Arubindo Ghosh,

“Ours is the eternal land, the eternal people, the eternal religion, whose strength, greatness, holiness, may be overclouded but never even for a moment, utterly cease. The

Hero, the Rishi, the saint are the natural fruits of our soil; and there has been no age in which they have not been born."

According to one theory, the Vedas and the other Sanskrit literature of the Hindus are responsible for the progress of science in the Western Countries. In 1919. we find the Hindu Mahasabha making a request to the British Government for the restoration intact to the Hindusthan of all the Sanskrit Manuscripts and the old Indian Instruments which were then in German custody. If Germany is the most advanced nation in the west in the sphere of science and learning, she is also most advanced nation in her study and knowledge of Sanskrit and the Hindusthan.

A simple question arises as to how such a great nation with such an inspiring past could have come to such a deplorable state of affairs? It is a bitter truth that from such a great Zenithal height the Hindus fell into the nadiral depths of degradation and foreign subjection. The fall was really very terrible and catastrophic. In the days of Alien Rule the History of the Hindusthan is a tragic story of the Hindus slain, of intolerant massacres, of temples razed to the

ground, of forcible conversions and forcible marriages with non-Hindus, of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who lorded it over. The Hindus have seen such dark days and have fallen upon such evil days and evil tongue. Perhaps owing to this tragic past they have ever lost their sense of discrimination. They cannot distinguish between the right and the wrong, between friend and foe meum and fuem. Still they follow the path leading them to further disgrace and effacement! They are intelligent and even now capable of conceiving lofty ideas and achieving daring deeds; but it is unaccountable how they are following the path which leads them to the grave of their hopes and aspirations. There lies the tragedy of this great nation.

“Self-abnegation in politics is sanyas no doubt but it is misplaced and untimed; and it is suicidal and ruinous when it implies the displacement of one community on other to the ruin of the nation practising self-abnegation”.

Writes the late Lala Lal Chand of the Punjab in 1909. Leaving aside the historical fables of the past which were solely due to the blunders committed by our Rajas and Leaders

the Hindus adopted a policy of self-abnegation in politics from the very dawn of the Indian National Congress which in reality came into existence for the emancipation of this mother-land from the fetters of foreign subjections.

The result has been transparently clear and perhaps requires no repetition here. The large number of men comprising our nation played a great part. In spite of all adverse circumstances we maintained our numerical strength and superiority. In these days of democracy, it is only the population strength of a community that counts. On account of our political blunders, owing to our self-abnegation in politics, we forgot the importance of this great factor in moulding the future of a nation. Our future cannot but be at stake, when we find that our very numbers are falling off year by year and decade by decade.

Within the last 60 years the Hindus have been reduced by over 60% of the total population and by about 12% of their own numbers. Let us examine the figures of the proportion of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians per 10,000 of their respective population from 1881

to 1931. The figures of 1941 are not included so far.

	Hindus.	Muslims.	Christians.
1881	7,432	1,974	73
1891	7,232	1,996	79
1901	7,037	2,122	99
1911	6,939	2,126	124
1921	6,856	2,174	150
1931	6,824	2,216	179

Let us also mark the variation of the percentage of increase (+) or decrease (-) of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians since 1881 to 1931 :—

	Hindus.	Muslims.	Christians.
1881 — 1891 —	+ 10.1	+ 14.3	+ 22.6
1891 — 1901 —	— 0.3	+ 8.9	+ 28.0
1901 — 1911 —	+ 5.0	+ 6.7	+ 32.6
1911 — 1921 —	— 0.4	+ 5.1	+ 22.6
1921 — 1931 —	+ 10.4	+ 13.0	+ 32.5

The total increase of the Hindus from 1881 to 1931 is + 26.8, of Muslims + 55.0 and of the Christians is + 238.1 "Even if the figure is low as compared to the 16.5% increase of the Muslims-these figures relate to British Districts, but the figures for the States and for the Punjab States Agency are not dissimilar."

"Probably owing to the practice of polygamy, of widow remarriage and on the whole, of later consummation of marriage than is

prevailing practice among most Hindus, the Muslims are at present increasing at a greater rate: Some of the increase may be attributed to the Tanzim movement for conversion to Islam.

"It is noticeable that in most provinces the rate of increase of Muslims is decidedly higher than that of the Hindus, though this is most markedly so in the Punjab. On other hand in Bengal, where in the previous decades the Muslim population showed an increase of 5.2% against a Hindu decrease of 0.7, the Hindus at this census show an increase of much nearer to that of the Muslims in rate, though still behind. The Hindus have increased by 6.7% as against the Muslims 9.1%..."

"The increase under the head of the Christians, which causes a steady transfer to Christianity from the Depressed Classes and still more, except in Madras from hill and forest tribes. If the natural increase be 12%, then over 20% out of the total increase of 32.5 % must be due to conversion.

"No Province has shown any proportionate increase of Hindus to the general population except where there have been tribal religions to draw from. *Muslims on the other hand have increased their ratios to total population in all provinces.*" *

Is it difficult to predict in how many decades the Hindus in their own country, the Hindusthan, will be reduced to a helpless mino-

* Census Report 1931 by J. B. Hutton.

rity. In most provinces of India the Hindus now form a smaller percentage of the population than they did 50 years ago, the percentage showing a decline at each successive census. Take for instance one Hindu majority Province—the United Provinces. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh during the decade 1911-1921, the Hindus decreased by 347 per 10,000 and in the previous decade they decreased by 130 per thousand. The present census repeats the same decrease in the population of the Hindus of the United Provinces. In 1931 the proportion of the Hindus was 84.49 and in 1941, it is 83.02, while the Muslims have risen from 14.84 in 1931 to 15.54 in 1941.

During the decade 1911-1921, the Hindus decreased in numbers in West Bengal by 52 per thousand, in North Bengal by 32 per thousand and in the whole of the Province by 7 per thousand.

The census Report of 1921 stated. "The Punjab Superintendent estimates that during the last decade the Hindus have given 40,000 converts to Mohammadans and nearly three times the number to Christianity...the losses

elsewhere are much smaller, but everywhere a steady drain is going on."

Again the Non-Hindus are swelling in their numbers in India. Take Christianity for instance. According to the same Report Christianity got 70,00,000 converts during 1911-1921 from the whole of India. The Missionary Council of the Church Assembly provides us with the following information of the general Christian increase in India. "For ten years in India 10,000 new adherents were monthly enrolled on the Christian registers. The present increase is 15,000 monthly. In the Punjab Province alone, during the past 25 years, the Christians have swelled from 40,000 to 40,00,000."

In Travancore State alone during 1816-1820, the Hindus numbered 9,52,371 or 83% of the total population, Christians 1,12,158 or 13.4% and the Muslims 42,058 or 4.6%. According to the Census of 1931, the Hindus were 31,37,795 or 61.6% of the total, the Christians 16,04,475 or 31.5% and the Muslims 3,53,274 or 6.9%. These figures tell their own tale. The Hindus have fallen from 83% to 61%. The

Christians and the Muslims have risen from an insignificant minority of 16% to a position of 39%.

Shrimati Savitri Devi analysing the present degeneration and deterioration of the Hindus bodily writes in her book, "The Non-Hindu Indians and Indian Unity" :—

"Our over-aged caste system has kept us from becoming a nation. Our "spiritual" temperament (a polite word for laziness) and our wide-spread non-violence (a polite word for cowardice) have kept us permanently dependent. Quarrels about the nature of the Unknown and the shape of our forehead-marks have diverted our thoughts and energy from our one only natural craving; the craving to be free, to be strong, to be great.

"We say: "Mother and Motherland are more exalted than Heaven" but we teach India's starving millions that our common Motherland is their hell, namely the place where the forgotten sins of their past lives have landed them to suffer and purify their souls,-while we exploit their labour and help the foreigners to exploit us. And then we accuse them of anti-patriotism as soon as they become Mohammadans or Christians and escape our control. Shameless hypocrites indeed we are, and we are paying for it.

"We all have to set aside our mistakes of the past and build afresh. It was of no use hiding our faults; it is of no use either wasting time in lamenting over them too long. The best is to let the bitterly earned experience guide us in the future, so that similar blunders should not be repeated.

"Everyone has to pay for his blunders. A thousand years of foreign yoke have been the salary of our faults. It sounds as if that is enough. It is of no use persisting in the old ways which can only make this state of things last longer."

"Beside the organized attempts on the part of the Muslims and the Christians in thinning our numbers by means of conversions another two factors have also been in operation for long and these are *murders* and *kidnapping*s. Almost in all the provinces this drainage is constant and steady. Let us take for instance the case of the Punjab, Sind and N. W. F. P. alone.

"In 1936 there were only 898 murders. In 1937 they rose to 933, in 1938 to 1041 and in 1939 the number rose to 1133."

Thus says the Punjab Police Administration Report for the year 1938.

"Two murders a day is the record of crimes established by Sind in 12 months of 1939

and over 265 in the first six months of 1940.”*

“A decrease of 12 cases of murders in the N.W.F.P. has been reported in the month of October 1942 in comparison with the corresponding month of the last year says a Press Note.

“The total number of murders, dacoities, and burglaries reported up to the end of October, 1942 was 48, 087 and 1226 respectively as compared with 58,186 and 1,319 for corresponding period in 1941.”†

Below we give a few instances of the cases of murder of Hindu Sahukars:—

- (i) One Chanchal Singh sahukar went to attach the property of his debtor Ahmed in the execution of his decree. He was belaboured by him. Later on he was asked by an accomplice of Ahmed to come to their village to have his dues. The unsuspecting Sahukar went there and was murdered. (Vir Bharat March 1938).
- (ii) One Dharam Chandra Sahukar of Bhutri District, Gurdaspur was going to the Court to appear in a case of his. He was waylaid and beaten mercilessly. His assailants left him only when they thought him to be dead. (Vir Bharat 7th June, 1938.)
- (iii) One Brij Lal Sahukar of Rina Tehsil Moga was mercilessly killed. His eyes were put

*The Hindu Outlook

†The Tribune Lahore 12. 12. 1942

out, his legs cut off and his body was cut to piece. (Vir Bharat 14th July, 1938).

So far kidnappings are concerned:—

“ During the few years of 1921—1931, at least 3499 Hindu women were kidnapped or abducted in Bengal by the Mohammedans.”

Writes Syt. Jatindra Mohan Datta in the Modern Review, Calcutta. Like the late R. B. Lal Chand in the Punjab who in 1909 wrote his book, ‘Self-Abnegation in Politics, Lt. U. N. Mukherjee also wrote his famous book ‘A Dying Race’ in 1909. Concluding his book he observes:—

“We Hindus are most ridiculously, most contemptibly ignorant. We have no idea about what is going on around us. Others are not quite so ignorant.....How do the two communities stand to-day.? The Mohammadans have a future and they believe in it. We Hindus have no conception of it. Time is with them.....time is against us. At the end of the year they count their gains, we calculate our losses. They are growing in number, growing in strength, growing in wealth, growing in solidarity, we are crumbling to pieces. They look forward to a united Mohamman dan world.....we are waiting for our extinction.”

— Dr. Archbold, the late Professor of Aligarh University once wrote:—

“The Hindus are a Historical contradiction. Their future is gloomy, but they have no vision of it. They bark at the Britishers but not for themselves. They can speak but not for themselves. I have never met such a peculiar race throughout the wide range of human history, both past and present. I do not know, if their stupid self-denial would lead them to the entire extinction of their race”.

Emperor Babar also said:—

“The people of the Hindustan are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection and less foresight”.

Unfortunately thousands of years of foreign domination have made the Hindus so submissive that they do not aspire even after imagining that they can still improve their lot. Their reason resembles the reason of Manthara the maid servant of Kaikai (Step-Mother of the Lord Rama) when she said:—

कउ नूप होउ हमहिं का हानी ।
चेर छाड़ि अब होब कि रानी ॥

“Whosoever may be the king, there is nothing humiliating to me, so long as I am to live as a maid-servant and not to become a princess”.

We Hindus behave just like the maid-servants of Kaikai and do not aspire to improve our lot.

When we reached the nadir of our degradation, the Indian National Congress rose to come to our rescue to show us the path and guide us. It was a Hindū heart of a British brain and the Hindu sacrifices and sufferings that strengthened and extolled it. The Hindu services maintained it and the Hindu love for freedom endeared it to the people in general. But curiously enough it has been pendering to its enemies. The Congress entertains the notion that the Hindus exist for the Congress but that it has no obligations towards Hindus and their interests. The Hindus, as a hody, still follow the Indian National Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha also tries to command the confidence of the Hindu masses. The situation now has become almost clear. We are on the parting of ways. Two swords cannot lie in the same scabbard or sheath. If the Congress is to grow the Hindus are not to join any other institution with the same political ideals and if the Hindu Mahasabha is to become a living organisation in the land of Bharatvarsha, it can only stand on the ashes of the Indian National Congress. The Hindus are to choose either of the two. Just as two parallel lines cannot meet, so also the two

ideals represented by these two rival organisation can never become one.

In the words of the late Rai Bahadur Lal Chand, the real founder of the Hindu Sabha movement in the Hindusthan, a warning came to the Hindus early in the year 1909 after his experience of the activities and functioning of the Congress for 25 years. It is a pity, the warning only fell on deaf ears and proved only a cry in the wilderness. This great Prophet sounded a note of warning thus:—

“To add to natural misfortunes the Hindus have a self inflicted one in what is called and known as the Indian National Congress. This has proved a veritable source of weakness for purely Hindu interests. If there is anything which is strictly forbidden within the precincts of the Congress, it is the term ‘Hindu’...the Congress, the only political machinery in the country will not take up their cause, because from the very commencement it has assumed for itself a sentimental ideal and is now afraid to climb down. Happen what may, even though the situation may result in disaster to the Hindus ..What is to be done then ? Are Hindus then to remain as spectators of their own ruins ?

“Unfortunately, the poison imbibed for the last 25 years under the Congress treatment has so obscured our vision that we have

lost all power of seeing things in true perspective. It seems to me under the circumstances absolutely necessary to apply the knife to remove the film from our vision which would then of itself without the forcep's help, become bright and clear. If a disease has seized a community and is eating up its vital part, it is according to old right medical opinion, "Needful to purge the poison before giving tonics." This is a matter of daily experience in Malarial fever. Quinine as antidote is of no avail or of very little avail without a thorough cleaning and purging of bowels. It appears that the Hindu community at this moment is in the grip of malaria of a disastrous type. The self-abnegation in politics which the Hindu community has adopted towards the formation of Indian National Congress is suicidal.."

Veer V. D. Savarkar, while advising the Hindus to boycott the Congress goes on to say:—

"So under the present circumstances we are compelled to disown it and to divest it of all power to represent the Hindus in any aspect or capacity whatsoever."

Shri Bhaiji sounds, and emphasises the final note in connection with the Indian National Congress. The Congress activity, says he:—

"Has hung the dead weight of Muslim interests round Hindu necks. I am profoundly convinced that but for the policy of the Congress, the Hindus to-day would have been far better off than they are. The unfortunate part of the situation is that the Hindus find no escape from the destiny to which the Congress has condemned them.

"To-day thanks to the Congress the Hindus in some provinces bear the twin yokes of the British Government, and of the Muslims. If there are any that deceive themselves that the Hindus performed an act of self-abnegation for the ideal of liberty they will be disillusioned by what the future holds, they shall have to co-operate with the Hindu Mahasabha for their safety and progress."

The Hindus, by the concussion of events and by the shocks of circumstances, will be coerced into realising that the Congress has been immolating the Hindu interests at the altar of an Utopian political scheme. Sooner or later the Hindus will have to resort to the Hindu Mahasabha for the maintenance of their communal solidarity and political integrity.

XIII

TO BE OR NOT TO BE.

“Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate
Still achieving still pursuing
Learn to labour and to wait.”

What will be the end of it all? I have tried to show in the earlier Chapters that the Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus, that by Independence we mean Our Rule, that the Hindus are a nation among themselves, that our Hindu Nationalism is the true Indian Nationalism and that the Hindu-Muslim unity is not a condition precedent for the attainment of our objective viz-Swaraj. I have also stressed that Non-Violence is a curse for us and that the Congress has been responsible for the proposed vivisection of our Motherland and that it has also led the Hindus to adopt a policy of self abnegation or self-immolation in politics.

I believe that if the Hindus be united into a strong nation, and Hinduise all their politics, the Hindu-Muslim Unity will automatically be achieved and “Swarajya” will then only be possible.

We have also examined whether the Hindus alone if organised and united could get freedom or not? Should we have the Hindu rule, as our ultimate goal or an *Indian* Rule jointly with the Muslims

and other minorities? My position is this that the Hindu Rule implies both these things. The Hindus are undoubtedly an overwhelming majority in India and even by the elementary principles of Democracy 'Government of the people by the people for the people', the Hindu Rule will be the Rule of the majority. Then why should the term the "Hindu Raj" be shunned? The question then arises, what will happen to the Muslims the all-powerful minority which has recently assumed the role of an independent nation? The simple answer is that they will live in this country as different minorities have been living in different countries of the world. Any reasonable solution as applicable to any important minority in the world should naturally be applicable to them. They shall not only be our neighbours but also be regarded as our brothers, provided, they mean to be brotherly with us. India should be their holy land as well as their Mother-land, and if not their holy-land they must take it as their *Motherland*.

The Hindu Mahasabha has never so far put forward the "Hindu Rajya" as its ideal, yet it is a fact and should be an ideal. Now it is high time that we must open our mind. The Hindu Mahasabha has been misunderstood even if it has so far stood for justice. Nothing better than the presidential address of some of our various Presidents, could be cited to prove what I say.

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh observed at Delhi in 1918,

"I am sure the Hindu Sabha never means to offend or encroach upon the legitimate rights of any community whether inhabiting India or elsewhere. Its objects should be in this respect only to defend and protect the just equitable rights of the Hindus against the onslaughts of other peoples."

The Late Lala Lajpat Rai, speaking at Calcutta in 1925, observes:—

"The Hindus have so far followed a national policy and I think they must stick to that. They will be stultifying themselves, if they replace their nationalism by communalism. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that there are some communities in India who want to take undue advantage of our nationalism and are pushing forward their communalism to such an extent as is injurious to the interests of the whole nation and certainly disastrous to those of the Hindu community. Such communalism we are bound to oppose, as in our judgement, it can only lead to permanent slavery, permanent disunity and a state of perpetual dependence."

Shri Raja Narendra Nath, at the Delhi Session of the Hindu Mahasabha held in 1926, observed :—

"We want adequate measures to be adopted for the protection of the interest of the minorities, but we want that such measures

of protection should be uniform for all minorities whether Hindu or Mohammedans. We do not wish to create deadlocks nor do we wish to create a tyranny of majority. We want no special measures of protection for the Hindu minority anywhere which we do not advocate for Mohammadans..... True Swaraj will be achieved only when justice is done to the legitimate claims of all communities."

Syt. Ramananda Chatterjee speaking as President at Surat in the year 1929 said:—

"The Hindu Mahasabha does not seek to have for the Hindus any political, economic or civic rights or privileges to which they are not entitled by their numbers, educational and other qualifications, character, ability, public spirit and tax-paying capacity and in particular the Hindu Mahasabha does not want for the Hindus any fixed share for anything which indirectly leaves an inequitable portion for others. It stands for open and fair competition for an open door for talent irrespective of race, creed and complexion."

Shri Bhai Parmananda contradicting Mr. Jinnah's fears in February, 1937, when Mr. Jinnah wrote to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru that Bhaiji wanted a "Hindu Raj", declared,

"I stand for self-Government of the people, by the people and for the people. In the word 'People', I include the Muslims of India as well as other minorities. I have

never been guilty of advocating a Hindu Raj for this country..... We have never claimed special concession or special privileges for the Hindu population of this country. All our efforts should be directed to develop a free consciousness of community of our political and economic interests. A clear mutual understanding which alone can lead to that unity of various communities without which we can never achieve a fully democratic and responsible Government for the People of India is what is sought for.”

Veer Savarkar in his presidential address at Ahmedabad Session in 1937 said :—

“Let the Indian State be purely Indian. Let it not recognise any invidious distinctions whatsoever as regards the franchise, public services, offices, taxation on the grounds of religion and race. Let no cognizance be taken whatsoever, of a man being a Hindu or a Mohammadan, a Christian or a Jew. Let all citizens of that Indian State be treated according to their individual worth irrespective of their religions or racial percentages in the general population. Let the language and script be the national language and script of that Indian State which are understood by the overwhelming majority of the people as happens in every other State in the world, *i. e.* in England or the United States of America and let no religious bias be allowed to tamper with that language and script by an enforced and perverse criticism what-

soever. Let 'one man one vote' be the general Rule irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion. If such an Indian State is kept in view the Hindu Sangathanists will, in the interest of the Hindu Sangathan itself, be the first to offer their whole-hearted loyalty to it. I, for one and thousands of the Mahasabhaites like me have set this ideal of an Indian State as our political goal ever since the beginning of our political career and shall continue to work for its consummation to the end of our life. Can any attitude towards an Indian State be more national than that?"

Is this not justice? The Indian National Congress though in theory it claims to have stood for a like principle as enunciated above by Veer Savarkar, yet unfortunately in practice it has always acted as a communal organisation in a sense that it has encouraged and inculcated communalism in India's body politic. The Congress career of the last 30 years amply justifies this fact. It did isolate the true principles of Nationalism in its attempt to please the Mussalmans. The fundamental principles of Democracy and Nationalism were sacrificed at the altar of this pro-Muslim policy. The Congress tried to kill communalism by encouraging communalism. The present critical stage in which India has now been placed is only due to its absurd politics. The late Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee has very clearly analysed the whole situation thus :—

"The Congress has in recent years failed to face facts, minced matters and lulled itself into an unfounded belief that by acceding to the demands of the Muslims even to the detriment of the Hindu interests it would be able to placate the Muslims and rouse in the Muslim minds the true nationalism that would be for the welfare of the country as a whole. The whole career of the Congress during the last two decades has been marked by the desire to secure this idea of Nationalism by giving in from point to point."

Mr. Gandhi has been virtually the dictator of the Congress for the last 20 years. One wonders why he has killed the Hindu consciousness from the land of the Hindus. Why he has made the Hindus helpless and impotent. No kidnapping of any Hindu girl, no murder of any of their Leaders and no Muslim onslaught stirs a Congressite Hindu !! Swami Shradhananda was stabbed by Abdul Rashid on the 23rd December, 1926, for his fault of organizing the Shudhi Movement. Lala Nanak Chand another Arya Samajist of Delhi, was murdered soon after. Mahashe Raj Pal, the Publisher of Rangila Rasul was stabbed to death by Ilmdin on April 6, 1929. Maharaj Nathumal Sharma, a Sind Hindu Leader, was stabbed by Abdul Qayum in September 1934. Mr. Ganga Ram Khanna, a Hindu Sabha leader was severely wounded in 1938. The Muslims, even the prominent amongst them, justified these

murders, as Malik Barkat Ali, a Nationalist Muslim then, arguing Abdul Qayum's case said, "Abdul Qayum was not guilty of murder of Nathumal Sharma because his act was justified by the law of the Quran." The Muslim Professors and the Muslim Students of Deoband College offered prayer, "God Almighty may give the Marhoom (*i. e.* Abdul Rashid, the Murderer of Swami Shradhananda) a place in the Ala-e-illecyeon (the summit of the seventh heaven)"**

Similar was the sentiment of all the Muslim India on all murders of the Hindu Leaders. One of course understands this but ununderstandable is the attitude of Mr. Gandhi, whose lips are always sealed on such occasions. Has he even condemned these murders or asked the Muslim Leaders to condemn them? Even for his dreams Swarajya, Mr. Gandhi ought to have made the Hindus stronger and united.

We fundamentally differ with Mr. Jinnah. Our politics is poles asunder but we join him in asking as he did at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League ;—

"Why should Mahatma Gandhi not be proud to say ; I am a Hindu and that the Congress is a Hindu body ? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Muslim and that the Muslim League is the representative body of the Muslims, why should not

*Times of India Nov.11, 1927.

Mahatma Gandhi come as a Hindu and let me meet him proudly representing the Muslims."

Is it not a fact that 99% of the followers of the Congress come from the Hindus? Let it not then feel shy to be styled as a Hindu body. Mr. Gandhi is after all a Hindu. A Hindu mother gave him birth and brought him up. The Hindus have always been nationalists. Only for the sake of a few Muslims to join the Congress and his desire to be called the Leader of the Hindus and the Muslims, he is going to be a party to getting India cut into two pieces? As a political leader he ought never to have followed the disruptive elements as M. de. Mello-Franco says:—

“We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of minorities to the last extremes, these minorities will become disruptive elements in the State and a source of national disorganization.”

Mr. Gandhi has often yielded to the demands of those who now seek to vivisect India. His latest statement on the Pakistan and his attitude in the Khilafat days were the surest proof of it. We wish

Mr. Gandhi to learn the true state of affairs even now; we wish him as a Hindu to give a bold lead to the country, under the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha. None denies the influence he commands and with that influence he might be able to wash off the sins done by him to the Hindu Nation. If only the Hindu consciousness be awakened amongst the Hindus and they are united as one nation all the tragedies of their lives may turn into comedies and, we may also attain our objective.

What is our aim after all? This is an important question. The answer to this question is also simple. Are we the Hindus to remain foreigners in our own land or are we to be its Masters at least to preserve the sacred trust handed over to us by our eminent heroes and fore-fathers. The late L. Hardyal too has replied to this question:—

“The idea of the Hindu Sangathan should be the Hindu Swaraj and the Shuddhi”. So long as India is not free from these alien thoughts, we cannot have a moment’s sleep. Thunder and proclaim therefore, “Sacred Punjab, and sacred Hindustan”. He who does not believe in this ideal is not a true Hindu; he is lifeless, and is a mere corpse. It is impossible in India for two nations to flourish side by side. Either all the Hindus should become Muslims or all the Muslims Hindus. This is the way to India’s solution. Islam is such a strange religion that its adherents can never live

in sympathy with other people..... It is impossible to check riots, by having a Muslim Minority. No Nation can digest after swallowing this 20% Islamic minority. Those who have attemped this, have always been troubled. The Hindus therefore should first have a Hindu Swaraj and then the problem of the Muslim conversion will become comparatively easy. Hindus (addressing the Punjab Hindus in particular), "either you accept Islam or reconvert the Muslims. If you can do neither, then drown yourself into the Sutlaj, the Bias the Ravi, the Chunab and the Jhelum.

This is the only course left for you."

The Late L. Hardayal goes on:—

"I wish to proclaim by beat of drum that we shall glorify the Hindu Swaraj in our country. Once more India shall be converted into the land of the Rishis. Let those who are not deaf hear all this. This thought is my conviction, this is my open duty. If there exists even the least spark under the ashes of your Hindu nation blow hard, so that it may become one great conflagration swallowing our slavery, poverty and incapacity. India, reconverted into Christian or any other faith, India shall cease to be our country, when our language, our history, our manners and festivals, our names, our organizations will not exist, we care a fig who may inhabit her. If India remains not the land of the Hindus, our nationalism is dead."

† Translated from *Mere vichar* (in Hindi) by L. Har Dayal.

Thus a great patriot, who lived and died for this great dream has set this ideal of the Hindu Swaraj before us. It is for the Hindu youth to make L. Hardayal's dream a reality. Some of us, of course, are afraid that it is an impossibility as Mr. Gandhi wrote in the Hind Swarajya:—

“If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled by the Hindus only, they are living in a dream-land.”

What is possible and what is impossible in history, one never makes out. Could there be any one to have visualised in the reign of Akbar that the followers of Gurus, who were then only a few in numbers, would establish a Sikh supremacy in the Punjab or the Maharattas who were quite insignificant then, would produce Shivaji, whose followers would make the Hindu Empire in India a reality?. Could any one foretell in the days of Shahjahan that the English traders seeking favours from the Moghals would establish the British Empire in India.? Napoleon was reported to have once said, “The word impossible is found in the Dictionary of fools.” It is only the highest ideal for which the highest of sacrifices can be made. In ‘A warning to the Hindus’, Shrimati Savitri Devi remarks:—

“Most Hindus are not deeply interested in their vital to-day's problem, to live or to die, just because they cannot imagine vividly enough what it means *to live. To live, for*

a nation, means to rule. And as the Hindu Leaders repeat, *the Hindus are a Nation*, not a community. They are a nation that is not conscious of its existence, but that still is a nation, just as a man is still himself, while asleep. No body can tell what would happen, if the Hindus were to awake."

"Nero was fiddling when Rome was burning", is a saying handed down to us from ancient days, but it still serves to remind us of the brutal callousness of man towards man. Nero was a Roman Emperor inheriting the sceptre of mighty Caesars, the very mention of whose name worked like magic to strike terror in the minds of the wearers of crowns and coronets of the world.

Nero lost all sense of understanding that in reducing the metropolis to ashes he was sounding the death knell of his Empire and of the Roman civilization. Did not something happen in India when Jaya Chand invited Muhammad of Ghor to invade the Kingdom of Prithvi Raj? Jaychand, not unlike Nero, might have been in the seventh heaven of delight when he heard of the news of the fall of Delhi. Raghoba conspired against the Empire whose destinies were controlled by his own nephew. All this is a reading into the past but let us look around our present which equally exhibits signs of treachery. Are not we, the Hindus fiddling when the Hindusthan is burning?

This ideal of 'Hindu Swarajya' naturally brings us into conflict not only with the Muslims but with the British as well. And consequently, we are to judge for ourselves as to whether we are at present so strong as to face the British and the Muslims together. The Congress may call itself a non-Hindu body, but it is we the poor Hindus who have to bear the fruits of their antagonism to the British Government. The Government does not distinguish between a Congressite and a Hindu Sabhaite Hindu. The British people think that the Hindus have betrayed them at this great hour of peril when their existence is at stake and they, therefore, think themselves fully justified in taking the Hindus to task or in persecuting the Hindus alone or in imposing fines upon them alone. The Government also forgets the support of the Hindu Princes, the financial support of the Hindus in India and the numerous Hindu young men, who have risked their very lives at the front.

The Congress fails to take a reasonable attitude based upon justice and support the Hindus as it is afraid of some false notions of prestige, lest it may become communal. The Hindus are with the Congress because simple folks as they are, they have easily been led away by the charm of its propaganda and the natural hatred against the foreign domination. It is still not too late. The Hindus should open their eyes now. If the Congress does not take up

their cause, because it is afraid of being called communal, the Hindus should bid good-bye to the Congress and organize themselves independently under the Hindu Mahasabha banner otherwise they are doomed.

Time has come, when the Hindus must assert themselves, and must be prepared for any great sacrifice they may be required to make for this assertion. Undoubtedly we might have to face a triangular fight. But the idea of a triangular fight is not new to us. Our politicians did foresee it. The late Sir C. Y. Chintamani said in 1935 in Delhi,

"Mr. Gokhale once said to me 'He makes a mistake who thinks that India's political struggle is a duel between the British and the Indians. It is more of a triangular fight between the British, the Hindus and the Muslims,' He added that Euclid's proposition was not less true in politics than in geometry, that any two sides of a triangle are together greater than the third." The natural thing would be for Hindus and the Muslims to make a common cause in the service of their common Motherland. Unfortunately this has not always happened."

The prophecy of the late Lokmanya Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak is so fresh that it needs no further illustration. Lokmanya Tilak speaking at the Lucknow Congress in 1916, said :—

"If the British Government thinks that the Muslims or the Rajputs or the Depressed Classes or any community were more fit than us for self-rule they should hand over their power to that community. For, in that case the fight for Swarajya will be simplified and will not remain a triangular fight as at present."*

"Triangular fight" is a hard reality to-day, though there were some doubts in 1916. We have to prepare ourselves for this struggle, but before launching our struggle we have to see if we can fight the two at the same time. We might have to be friendly with the one and that one is the British Government. The foremost of the British Statesmen realize from the core of their hearts that India is after all Hindu, and that the Muslims are Ex-Hindus. Nothing more than minority privileges should be offered to them in the future constitution. But the trouble is that the Hindu have all along been carrying on agitation against the British. The Hindus were of course, justified to some extent, but the Britishers too were justified in being Anti-Hindu or Anti-Indian. Hence they encouraged the disruptive elements in India or indirectly supported the partition of India simply to safeguard their own interests in this land which they rule. It was the British who get the credit for making India one unified country and now owing to our blind opposition they care not if India is cut into pieces

* The Kesri Poona.

provided their interests are safeguarded. We are thankful to H. E. the Viceroy for his memorable speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta saying,

“Geographically India, for practical purposes is one. I would judge it to be as important as ever was in the past, nay more importants that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities whether those minorities are just or small.”

If the Hindus take up their cause at this hour of their crisis the British may sincerely stand by us and we the Hindus might save our Hindusthan from being converted into a Pakistan, and if after the war India is made independent on democratic basis, we get all we want without fighting the British at all.

The first step towards the fulfilment of our aim is to create a Hindu consciousness. If a thorn pinches a Hindu in the Frontier Province, the Hindus in the South should stir themselves up with pain. If a Hindu girl is kidnapped in Sindh, the Hindus of the Maharashtra should take it as an insult to the honour of its womanhood. When such a spontaneous feeling of brotherhood and reciprocal love enters into one nation its days of salvation are at hand. But unfortunately we see something totally different at present. We are a prey to provincialism and

sectarianism. We have not succeeded in conquering our old enemy jealousy' from our body politic. In the words of an English Historian;

"The Hindus since the days of Prithviraj and Jaichand forgot nothing and have learnt nothing."

We still have Jaichands' in our nation. The Congress intends to build the palace of Swarajya over the ashes of the Hindus. Defeats generally teach lessons but thousands of defeats never taught the Hindus any lesson, The Hindus never made a common cause hundred of years ago when they had to face the Muslim invasions. Bhai Parmanandji rightly remarks :—

"That the history of the Hindus is the History of blunders committed by their Leaders'.

Never has he tried to think in terms of the Hindu nation and the Hindusthan. This has been the uniform characteristic of the Hindus since the days of the Moghal conquest.

Before we take up any struggle, the Hindus are to overhaul the whole system of their social structure. Their motto should be "Hindu Sangathan". The Hindu Sangathan movement alone can save us. We should have Leaders who must believe in the Hindu Sangathan. Unfortunately, there are Hindus who feel ashamed to call themselves "Hindus", but still are anxious to be the Leaders of the Hindu

Mahasabha. The irony of fate is that we have always been led by those who want to divide us. Love cannot be divided.

The Hindu Mahasabha has not become a force within the last 20 years, because its leaders excepting of course Sri Bhai Parmanand and Veer V. D. Savarkar, did not take its philosophy so seriously. If the Hindu Mahasabha is to live, it will have to revolutionise its whole self. They will have to turn out those who do not call themselves Hindus, and do not believe that the Hindustan is the land of the Hindus and that no aspect of the Pakistan will be tolerated, however "diseased limbs the Punjab or Bengal may be" or whose first alliance and love is not for the Mahasabha alone or those who have joined it out of opportunism, those who patronised and financed Sikhs to convert the Hindus to Sikhism, those whose only aim in life is to become popular at all costs. They would never make a movement. We must have at least some principles on which there should be no compromise. No considerations of capitalists should move us from our faith, as capitalists and masses never go together. We must use them in our own interests but must be very careful as not to be used by them. There should be complete unity of aim at all costs.

The Hindu Mahasabha shall have to infuse new blood into our youths, and for that purpose

a sort of great 'Yajna' is to be performed as was performed at Mount Abu, when our country was run over by successive invaders. The Hindus lost all hopes of existence. The Agnikula Rajputs pledged to lay down their lives for the defence of the 'Dharma' were created by the creation of this 'Yajna'. Similar Yajnas we find in the history of the Sikh Gurus in the Punjab. After the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh convened a great conference of the Hindus and put himself into a great tent. After-a-while Guru Govind Singh came out with naked sword and asked for a '*Piyara*', a dear to get into the tent and lay down his head at the altar of Mother Shakti who wanted sacrifice. Out of such a big assembly came out a Hindu of low caste prepared to offer himself to the sword. Guru Govind Singh took the youngman in the tent and a noise of stabbing was heard. Blood rushed forth out of the tent. The assembly saw the blood. The Guru again came out with the blood-stained sword and asked for another youngman to sacrifice himself. Silence prevailed all over. After a pause again rose another Hindu and went straight into the camp. The same fate met him. The Guru got in all 5 youngmen and then came with those five Hindus out of the tent. Those five Hindus were styled '**ਪੰਚ ਪਿਅਰੇ**' (Five dears), who offered to lay down their heads at the altar of our Dharma.

It was not those youngmen who were murdered but it were the goats sacrificed to infuse the spirit of sacrifice and enthusiasm. The Yajna succeeded in killing the spirit of defeatism and cowardice from our body politic and made the Guru's followers a force to fight for the liberation of the Hindudom. The key-note given by the Great Guru Govind Singh to the Nation was :—

न छांडउ कहूँ दुष्ट असुरन निशानी ।

चले सब लगत महि धरम की कहानी ॥

“I would not leave any wicked man nor men of Asura type ; let my Dharma prevail in the world.”

The new spirit invoked coupled with the sacrifices of the Guru's dear and near, kith and kin brought out a miracle in the history of India. The very people, devoid of all resistance, who had been preys of invasions for seven centuries, became invaders and the invaders were now to defend their hearths and homes from the so called Huns. Now we once more require Hindu youths to be martyrs of this type in place of politicians sitting in their arm-chairs.

The significance of our Hindu movement is well realized by those who dominate us to-day. The late L. Lajpat Rai once wrote a letter from a ship to Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. The letter reads as follows :—

"I am writing to you about his (an Englishman) views on our movement. I mean Hindu movement. He seems to be thorough anti-Hindu and holds strong views against the Shuddhi and the Sangathan like the Anglo-Indian Officials. They seem to think that the Shuddhi movement, if successful, is bound to lead to the Hindu Raj. I am beginning to think that the Shuddhi Movement is troubling the Government for the simple reason that it threatens to spoil their plans of weakening the Hindus in number and influence. Their chief hope seemed to have so far been on the chance of thinning their number with a view eventually to make them politically impotent. This makes it all the more necessary for us to do all we can to push the Movement forward."*

The Hindu Sangathan Movement is the need of the hour. Thousands of years ago, a great Sanskrit poet prophesied thus saying:—

"In Tratya Yuga, Mantra was all power, in Satya Yuga, knowledge, in Dwapar, Chivalry, and in Kali Yuga, Sangathan."

The importance of the Hindu Sangathan Movement was foreseen by our great saint "Vyas" thousands of years ago. According to him we need not require sword but what is required is only the Hindu consciousness. This could only be achieved by our killing provincialism. The only remedy to kill

*Quoted in Hindu National Movement by Shri Bhai Parmanand Ji.

provincialism in my opinion is to encourage inter-provincial marriages. The Hindu Sabha must undertake this programme enthusiastically. The remedy seems very easy but this inter-provincial marriages can do what decades of the Hindu Sabha Movement have not been able to achieve. This move of the inter-Provincial marriages will help a great way in bringing the Hindu consciousness into the nation and this is what we need most. Another thing to which we should not turn a deaf ear is to create a very strong propaganda machinery. Journals 'Dailies and weeklies' be started from all centres in India and they must be linked together to follow one political move and a unanimous attitude on all public and political affairs.

The Hindu Mahasabha is the only body to do all this. By the Hindu Mahasabha, I mean the institution with these aims and objects. It is the ideologies and principles that count and not any particular existing organization which may be good or bad, capable or incapable to undertake all the great work.

The Hindu Mahasabha is the means for the realization of these aims and objects. We are to see that there should be no split in our ranks. We have very few Leaders. Bhai Parmananda and Veer Savarkar the body and soul must go together. Let us come or go but the cause must flourish for ever. We must

not lose heart. What should we give up is fear itself. Let us always remember the wise words of President Roosevelt uttered in 1933 about his nation and let us apply them seriously to our people:—

“This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper—the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”

We have to be the Masters of our land, if not of the universe. We have to live by our own strength and not by the sufference of any one else. We have to organize or we are doomed. Even to sacrifice all, our kith and kin, as the great Gurus and the Heroes did, for the ideal and attainment of the Hindu Swarajya in this land of ours is not too much. Are Birds more patriotic than ourselves? A poet has rightly said:—

क्या हुआ गर मर गए अहले वतन के बास्ते ।
बुलबुले कुरबान होती हैं चमन के बास्ते ॥

“What is it if one dies for one's Mother-land?
Even the nightingales sacrifice themselves
for the sake of their garden abodes.”

But unfortunately the truth is that there seems dis-appointment all round and helplessness for the Hindus. Their Hopes are being frustrated. The past is in oblivion. Our brethren in the Congress are our enemies. Shrimati Savitri Devi in her book 'A warning to the Hindus' warns them so pathetically saying:—

“The Hindudom has reached a stage where it has either to die out, or else, to react vigorously, and then not merely to survive, but to rule. There is no third alternative. If the Hindudom were to die, India would no longer be India. But what if the Hindudom is to react, and rule.—Between the dark picture of an India who would no longer be herself and the glorious vision of the real Greater India that is to say, Greater Hindudom, let the Hindus choose, to-day, we say: to-day, for there is a time when things that seem impossible *are yet possible*. When that time is gone, then it is too late. Tomorrow may be too late even to save the Hindudom.”

These dark clouds remind me of a story which the late Mahatma Hans Raj of the Punjab used to relate often. In a jungle two birds have made their nests in a tree and are living there. Once the tree catches fire. A passerby notices the fire and tells the birds:—

आग लगी इस वृक्ष को, पत्ते जलने जात ।
तुम क्यों जलो पंछियो, पंख तुम्हारे साथ ।

“This tree is on fire, why do you burn yourselves, when you have the wings to fly.”
“The reply of the birds is simple, but adamant and striking:—

फल खाये इस वृक्ष के गन्ने कीनों पात ।
यही हमारो धर्म है जले इसी के साथ ॥

"We lived upon the fruits of this tree, we spoiled its leaves. Our duty is simple that we must burn ourselves with it".

Will our Hindu youths envy the birds? "To be or not to be is the question". We must choose between the two.

THE END

